/295/

First Part

Material Culture

To Eva who was my traveling companion.

Introduction

121 For anyone who wants to verify experimentally, if I may say so, the value of the methods which are being adopted in modern ethnography, for anyone who wishes to judge the factors which condition the formation and evolution of civilizations, there is no better field than the study of the Chiriguano Indians.

We know where they came from, the period when they formed a new nation, the populations with which they mingled or were in contact, the influences they underwent and their duration, and finally we are acquainted with the vicissitudes of their history: in a word, we can be present at the formation and development of this people from their origin to their present decline, an experience unique in South America, rare perhaps elsewhere, and in any case rich in instruction.

Adaptation to the environment, borrowing of new cultural elements, abandonment of traditions and techniques, somatic and linguistic changes, so many problems that the Chiriguano civilization poses and that the historical documents and the collections permit solving or at least clarifying.

● 177 178 Chiriguano culture is composed of elements of different origins, borrowed from tribes which had only a little in common with one another. It involves an old Guarani substratum, transformed and entirely renewed by the contribution of the Arawak culture of the Chané, which itself had been enriched and modified by the influence of the Andean populations of present-day southern Bolivia. A common environment and long proximity allowed many a technique and industry of the primitive Indians of the Chaco to be adopted and assimilated by the Chiriguano. The importance of this third component is minimal.

/299 cont./

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178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

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Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

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175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and id., 3, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

Plate IV

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1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

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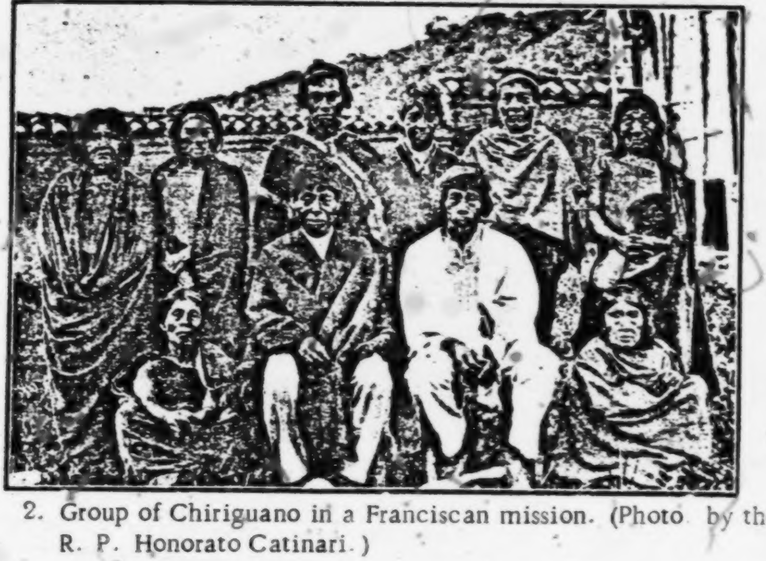

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

Chane SF8
Guarani SMY

/329 cont./

Ce clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its
172 structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly
167 come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the
[177] Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south
(Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

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When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

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Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C
177
It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

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178
The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/330 cont./

C
G The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior
177 type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities
it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan
side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries,
techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having
come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of
great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part.
Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the
Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars,
baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

C The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very
G
Ce cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples,
177 that is, clothing (*camisetas*, headband, etc.), the liking for
silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms,
Ce etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into
[323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the
sphere of pottery.

C The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano
G had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured
177 and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them
563 only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in
323 number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. 1,
[161] p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried
Ce off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the
178 feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for exam-
323 ple, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to
177 engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of
the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient
ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing
vats for *chicha*. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue
to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the
past, are often very beautiful.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

Ce 178 439 323 [177]

/331 cont./

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we

G C 177 178 266

see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a me[illegible]y among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C 17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

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/331 cont./

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[167]
[773]
This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

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At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

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[619]
The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

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● [177]
From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

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On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

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Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

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[101]
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[361]

/338 cont./

241 Sorghum (triku) (Sorghum sacchariferum) (1);

[262] 1. Sorghum is cultivated only on a very small scale. It is a delicacy that the Chiriguano reserve for children, who suck its stalk.

/339/ Sugar cane;
Melons;
Watermelons (sandias);
Prickly pear (saini) (Opuntia spec.);
Fig trees;
Orange trees (in the missions).

[177] The Chiriguano cultivate only on a very small scale the plants which, like sorghum, sugar cane, fig trees, and orange trees, have been introduced by the Europeans. Of these only melons enjoy general favor.

248 They always devote some parts of their fields to the cultivation of plants of value only for their arts and manufactures. These are: cotton plants (mandiyú), cucurbitaceous plants (iá) which grow on the ground next to their squash and furnish the containers they need, roucou (urukú), which scarcely exists except in the northern part of their habitat, and finally a species of reed (Arundo donax) with which they make the shafts of their arrows.

249 They also plant tobacco (pẽtĭ), but I have never seen any in their fields. According to Nordenskiöld (10, p. 25), its
[276] cultivation is insignificant and rare. The Chiriguano are not
[123] great smokers, and the numerous packs of cigarettes I took along for them found only a few devotees. Among the Toba, Matako /Mataco/, or Chorotí /Choroti/ my stocks would have been exhausted in the wink of an eye, for these Indians love tobacco more than anything in the world.

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[178] The use of tobacco among the ancient Chiriguano, as among their ancestors in Paraguay or Brazil, was reserved for the medicine men for their magical operations. Their use made of it a plant endowed with "mystical" virtues, and its

/341 cont./

243 825 532 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. 243 411 If the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano ● [177] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 825 [351] The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wandering cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

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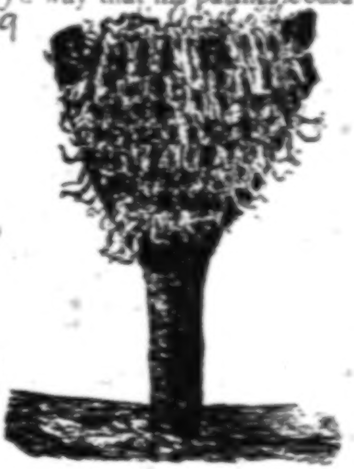
1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

/344 cont./

526 immediately, chased by his comrades who pulled his hair
178 energetically. The awkward player who threw the ball in such
243 a way that his partner could not catch it was in the same
789 category as the one who let it fall, on condition, however, that his opposite number had not made the gesture of catching it. Once the corn was ripe, they stopped playing *mbotó*.

526
171 The game of *mbotó* has a wide distribution in South America, but it is limited to the populations of the Amazonian basin and the
[179] Guianas. Doubtless the Chiriguano introduced it into the Chaco (Nordenskiöld, *9*, p. 168).



417 Fig. 10. Forked tree on
251 which the Chiriguano pile
824 corn inside their huts.
This device may have given rise to the corncribs on piles.

526 This game without any doubt derives
789 from a magical rite whose object was to pro-
243 mote the beneficial course of the sun and to oblige it to shine without interruption to make the corn ripen. The straw shuttlecock represents the sun. The period when this game is played and the meaning the Chiriguano attach to it make my hypothesis a very likely one. Preuss [illegible] demonstrated that in all of Central America and even in North America the /345/ tennis game arose out of a magical operation intended to influence the sun.

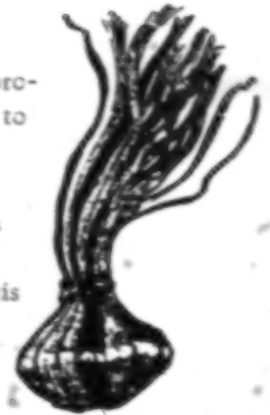


Fig. 11. Straw shuttlecock (*mbotó*), accessory for the game of the same name. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/3 nat. size.)

/352 cont./

C 252 The fish begins by being opened and cleaned and only then is it boiled or roasted. In this last case it is inserted between the two branches of a switch split for three quarters of its length (Fig. 22). So that the latter does not open completely, the lower part is fastened securely with bands of bark, and so that the fish does not fall out once it is inserted in the
G [252] interstice, the upper part. Among their ancestors, the Guarani, such a spit would have been superfluous, because to grill the
C [251] [262] product of their fishing or hunting they used to construct buccans. Our Chiriguano also eat fish dried in the sun and enjoy it in this form combined with some corn dish.

/353/

Chapter IV

Cooking

Fire

C 372 177 The modern Chiriguano more and more use matches of Bolivian make, but their poor quality has contributed to maintaining the popularity of the tinderbox. That of the Chiriguano, borrowed recently from the white men, is composed of a flint and a piece of iron with which they make sparks fly, which fall on a little wild cotton (the one which the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) produces). This tow (tata rimbiuna) is kept in a small receptacle made from the end of a cow horn or an armadillo tail. /Figs. 23 and 24 appear here./ It is hermetically sealed by a wooden disk, which a small cord passing inside the capsule and coming out through a hole at the tip of the horn or tail allows to be put back in place with a single motion. This ingenious contrivance is not, however, of Indian invention; I saw it adapted to the tinderboxes of the creoles in the Argentine Republic. Some
C [415] [281] Chiriguano make cloth wicks which at first sight would seem to have been produced in one of our factories. The tinderbox with its accessories is carefully kept in small bags of deerskin, wildcat, iguana, etc. (Figs. 23 and 24).

/363 cont./

234 To end up, one could still cite among Chiriguano food
262 the cheese they make in some villages. Each time they
butcher they take care to keep the abomasus in order to make
● [177] milk separate. Chiriguano cheeses are of the same quality as
those of the half-breeds, who for once have taught something
[272] to our Indians. I shall add that I have never seen a Chiriguano
drink milk.

312 The problem of water does not come up for the Chiriguano
133 as for the other Indians of the Chaco. Numerous rivers cross
their territory, and several of them are large enough not to dry
up even in the middle of the dry season. These watercourses
form innumerable quebradas, gorges or valleys, which give
its characteristic aspect to the country inhabited by our Indians.
[361] Sometimes villages are built near springs or small lakes, like
the Ivu mission, which is provided with plenty of water.

312 When I crossed the Caipipendí valley, the river which
occupies the bottom was nearly dry. The Indians had scooped out small wells about one meter in depth in the sand of its bed. They had surrounded them with slabs of stone to prevent any caving in and to preserve the water which accumulated in them from the heat of the sun. In this same valley, in a village situated on top of a hill, the Indians had dug a cistern four to five meters in diameter in which rain water had collected.

271 The Chiriguano have found a way to purify the muddy
312 water they often have to drink. They crush caraguatá leaves
824 between two stones, then steep them in the water, and all its
impurities settle as a result of the action of the juice of this plant.

264 The Chiriguano do not eat at set times. They make a
rather substantial breakfast very early in the morning and again
take some food toward the middle of the day. In the evening
[562] about six o'clock they make a kind of dinner. Since the men
are served first, then the women and children, it follows that
the meals drag out in length. At any moment of the day one
[415] can see someone eating. The food /364/ is presented to each
one in a calabash or terra-cotta bowl which each holds on his
knees. They pick up the pieces with their fingers but imbibe
liquids with a wooden spoon (Figs. 42 and 43). After eating,
they wash their hands. I have seen some rinse out their mouths.

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [178] [302] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendi, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415
Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

[177] [178] Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

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Typologically, we must put the vessels of the primitive tribes of the Chaco in the category of the iru. Like the Chiriguano or their forerunners the Chané, the Matako, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay copied Andean models, which they adapted to their needs. It is appropriate to note that the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco must have fashioned their vessels in such a way as to be able to take them along with

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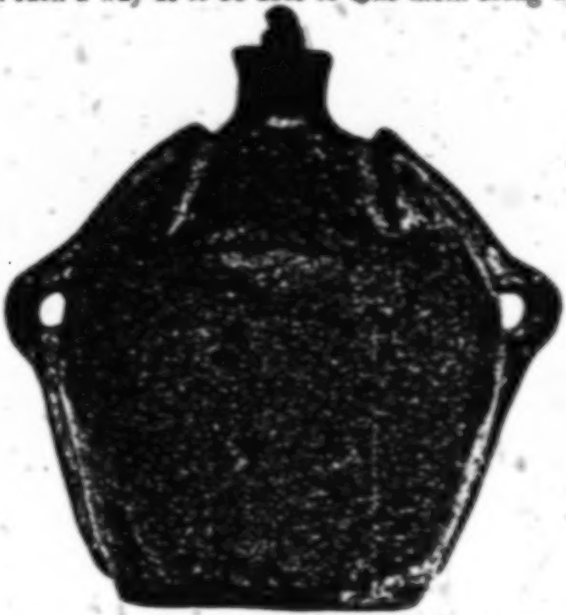

Fig. 39. Toba vessel with bands in relief imitating the suspension cords with which vessels of this type are generally provided. Prov.: Macharetí. (1/4 nat. size ±.)

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them on their peregrinations, while the Chané and Chiriguano, sedentary nations, did not feel the need to modify the primitive form and kept the Andean prototype without bringing variations to it. For comparison I am reproducing here two vessels from the Chaco: one (Fig. 37) comes from the Toba section of Macharetí, and the other (Fig. 38) from an Ashluslay tribe traveling in northern Argentina.

Choroti SK6
Araucanians S64
Tupi-Guarani SL6

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C
415 The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do
171 not know whether they make them themselves or receive them
439 from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis
region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here / where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendi had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are
Ci used for washing food and also as bathtubs. The Choroti have
415 wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, ~~9~~ Fig. 20, p. 88) which have
199 a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here
(Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them
A either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. Among
415 the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are
171 similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds
of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C
412 The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost
178 all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms
● [179] were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness
the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the
T-G foot of the Andes. This type of ax is unknown to me from any
[412] other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by
[184] the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see
Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

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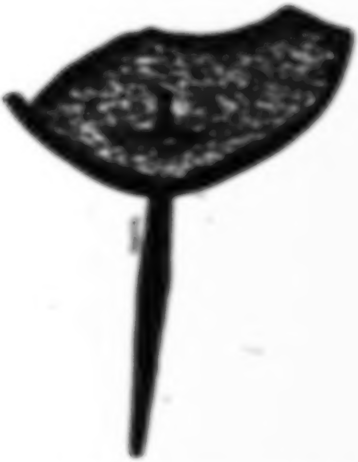

Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (*tembetayapua*). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/2 nat. size.)

Mold for Tembetas

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The *tembeta*, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija. [531] [439]

Balances

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The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igũembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

/380 cont./

276 177 171 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 171 302 114 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 [824] The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 439 804 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in [177] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 177 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/382 cont./

804 The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers
439 come to offer them with *varas*, that is, a stick about 80 centi-
● [177] meters long, the length of the ancient Spanish *vara*. This in-
strument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

Chapter VI

121 Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

Pottery Technique

114 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly
323 by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes,
and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details com-
municated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he
took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-
147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so
that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds
323 well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time
to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of
earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still
practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is
[439] lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission
all the vessels in use were made in Macharetí.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with
powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old
vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through
a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

/389 cont./

415 531 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

323 516 342 291 415

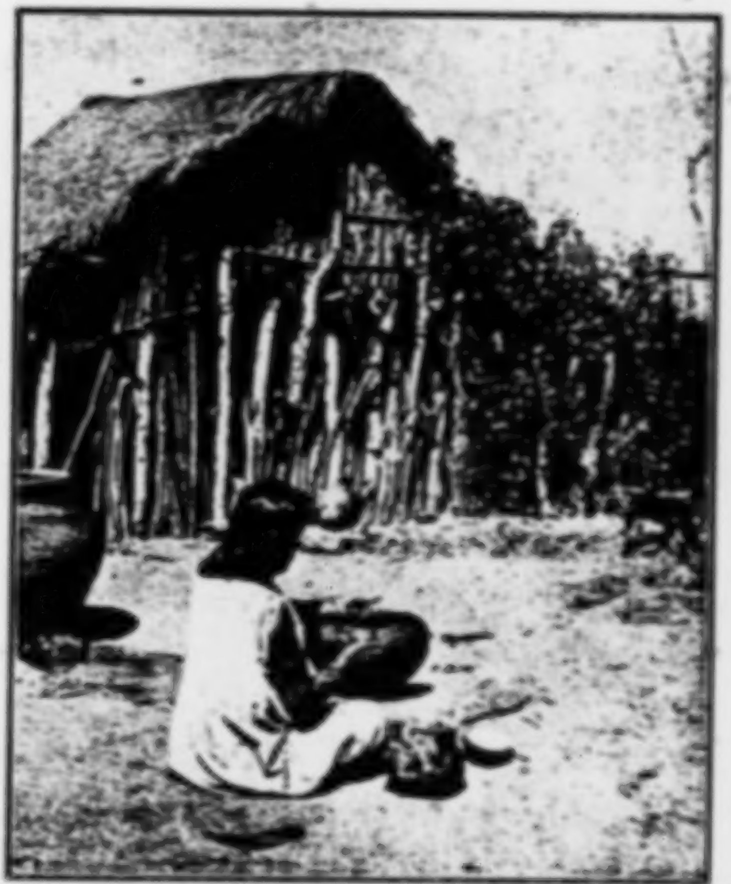

Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand./

415 531 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature and the picture the potter portrayed.

[126] [179] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded, whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of THE TOURISTS.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Saladó, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
[799] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
799 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepora lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white man, followed by its corruptive effects;
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

/398 cont./

17 this explains why the Chiriguano culture of the upper Pilcomayo presents such close affinities with that of the Chicha, the Humahuaca, and the Atacama (1).

175
[64]
[177]

1. On the western borders of their territory the Chiriguano were in constant touch with the Chicha, whose territory they devastated and whom they obliged to pay tribute to them.

Linárraga (Vol. I, p. 289): "the quality of the valley (of Tarija) being known, and the importance of its being populated, in order to check in that direction the Chiriguanas, who had done no little harm to the Chichas there, and they even paid them tribute, named as corregidor, etc...." /translated from the Spanish/.

Linárraga (Vol. II, p. 117): "he went to Mosquera and returned, and with more than thirty natives, twenty of them Chiriguanas, and the rest Indios Chaneses /Chane Indians/ in service, and among them two more illustrious Chiriguanas, one called Maracare and the other par excellence Inga Combarillo, and another Indian of Chicha nation, whom they confined with those Chiriguanas ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

Archivo de Indias (74-4-1, cited by Coni, p. 19): "and in about a month they reached another nation of indios called chiriguanaes, who thus neighbor this city a dozen leagues from potosí, and they carry off a pueblo of indios chichas who are called chupas." /translated from the Spanish/

Coni (p. 21): "In a letter from the licenciado Matienzo he tells us that the Chiriguanaes continued to raze the plains of Mamo and, in addition, made frequent onslaughts on the Charcas, where they

/398 cont./

175 acted as masters and lords of the land, even to
648 collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If
[266] they did not agree to this, they ate them and
[443] even 'had public meat markets for human
flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

175 Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané
● 177 women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and,
648 like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their
[567] masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate
[126] XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

437 Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed
439 descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

121 Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeologi-
172 cal point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs
ooo of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on p. 173]

1: Métraux--180 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Atacama SG5
Prehistoric Chile SG3

/403 cont./

A P.C 17 531) Latcham (p. 5) says that for a long time he has also had the impression that Chincha culture had played a very important role in the development of the prehistoric art of the north and center of Chile, especially in the Diaguito-Chilean region, that is, the provinces of Atacama and Coquimbo, and that these influences had extended as far as Cachapoal in the south.

After the publication of Uhle's work, Latcham (p. 20) not only accepted his conclusions but even demonstrated the extension of Chincha culture as far as Caldera. Like Uhle, Latcham (p. 20) is of the opinion "that an examination of Diaguito-Argentine pottery would furnish proof that the traces of Chincha and Chincha-Atacama influences are very common in the art of northwestern Argentina, where all the designs reproduced (by Latcham) are found again alone or in combinations with other local motifs. These influences made themselves felt as far as the southeast and even the northeast of
C Bolivia, as can be ascertained by consulting the works dealing
[415] with the antiquities of these regions. In the modern pottery
[531] [177] of the Chiriguano many of these same elements persist, as one
can realize by leafing through the work of Outes, 3."

C 415 177 121 In the pages which follow I shall seek to demonstrate that Chiriguano pottery presents characteristics obliging us to rank it among those which seem to have undergone the influence of the Chincha-Atacama civilization.

A P.C 17 114 121 [648] Even if the hypothesis of the existence of a Chincha-Atacama civilization must be rejected some day, it is not any less certain that at a given moment the prehistoric tribes of the region of Atacama, of the northern coast of Chile, of the south of Peru and Bolivia, and of the north and northwest of Argentina were united by close relations, which /404/ explain the numerous points of contact of their cultures. Uhle's theory has on its side the advantage of accounting for these analogies whatever may be the reservations we might be able to formulate concerning the date this scholar attributes to the Chincha-Atacama civilization, concerning the importance and the extent he gives it.

C /405 cont./
415 5. The îru of Fig. 70 b goes back into the class of the
171 vessels known as pseudo-apods, as some Argentinian archeolo-
P.A. gists call them. As their name indicates, they are closely re-
[415] lated, from the morphological point of view, to the vessels
[172] known as apods or more simply aryballuses, which constitute
in northwestern Argentina so many concrete proofs of Inca in-
Ce fluence. Among the Chiriguano and Chané this type of pottery
[415] is exceptional, and the specimen of Fig. 70 b is a unique
[171] piece whose interest is considerably increased by the extraordinary
P.A resemblance it bears to a vessel discovered in the cemeteries
[415] of the Isla de Tilcara (Fig. 70 a). These two îru have so many
[172] similarities between them that one could easily believe them
to have come from the hands of the same artist. In the regions
C near the habitat of the Chiriguano numerous vessels of this
P.A. type have been dug up. Odilia Bregante (p. 287) /406/ enumer-
415 ates for the specimens found in Jujuy province the following
171 localities: Saruga, Taranta, Pucará de Tilcara, Isla de
Tilcara, and Cochinoca, for the Puna de Atacama, Antofogasta
de la Sierra. In La Paya in Salta province these aryballuses
or aryballoid vessels are very numerous, and one of them
published by Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 42, p. 62) has on the upper
part of the belly a row of triangles with volutes, which we find
again on our specimen from the upper Pilcomayo.

C
415 Vessels of this kind are, as we have said, characteristic
171 of the Inca civilization. Similar jugs already appear in
Tacna during the Chincha or Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle,
4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate XIX, Fig. 1 and 1 a; Plate XX,
C Figs. 1 and 2). /Fig. 71 appears here./

[177] This type is so little diffused in Chiriguano country that
one could not invoke its occasional presence to attest to the
strong Inca influence of civilization on these Indians.

6. The miniature vessel of Figure 71 is also a unique
piece. If its distribution on the eastern slope of the Andes
C were not so sporadic, it would constitute an eloquent proof
[177] of the persistence of Inca tradition in Chiriguano pottery.
Actually, as Linné (1, p. 161) demonstrated with the aid of

C /406 cont./

415
171 a map, these footed vessels "bakershaped" /quoted in English/ mark out the whole extent of the Inca Empire from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina. This is the first time, however, that their presence has been noted among the Chiriguano and outside the borders proper of the Inca Empire.

C
● [177] 7. As Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 48, p. 162) established, the twinned Chiriguano vessels (Plate XXVII, 3)[1] also denote an Andean influence. As for that, it suffices to compare them with the ones from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 144, p. 196).

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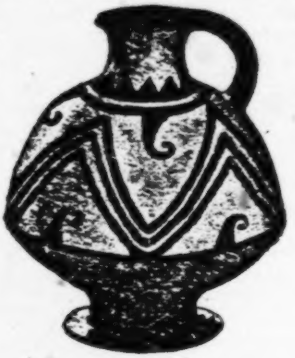

Fig. 71. Miniature footed vessel. Prov.: Cuevo. (2/5 nat. size.)

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415
171 8. As for the vessels consisting of triple connected bodies (Plate XXVII, 4), Jijon y Caamaño (p. 26) believes them to be of Central American origin. "Their center of dispersion," he says, "must be located in a southern region of Central America, from where, perhaps through the medium of the Arawak, they arrived in the Chaco and Peru." This hypothesis is tempting.

C
A
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171 9. The Central American origin of the footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72)[2] could not be doubted. Jijon y Caamaño (pp. 31-51), Rivet (2, pp. 8-9), and Linné (2, Map 6, p. 107) have amply demonstrated it. On the subject of one of the varieties of this type, Jijon y Caamaño (p. 34) makes the

[1] [See p. 183 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 187 -- Analyst]

C /410 cont./
415 of this country (1).
171

P.A.
[415] 1. Vessels of this type also show great similarity to the Araucan ones which were discovered in the Argentinian territory of the Neuquén. (San Martin, pp. 10-15, pp. 131 and 132.)

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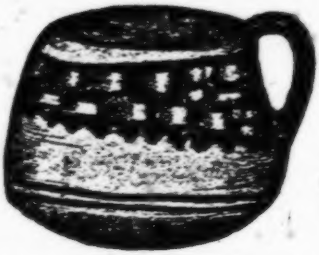

Fig. 76. Cup decorated with black checkerwork on cream background. Prov.: Igũembé Valley. (1/3 nat. size.)

C
415 16. The little cup of Figure 76 is the only one of this
171 shape I was able to collect. Like the vessels examined thus far, it constitutes by its aspect and decoration an Andean
P.A. survival. Many cups have been discovered in northwestern
[172] Argentina. Some of these specimens have been found on the
[415] Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 149, p. 206) and at Casabindo in the Puna de Jujuy (Lehmann-Nitsche, Pl. IV, 5 D).

17. Bowls have such a wide distribution in South America that their presence among the Chiriguano would not by itself be a sufficient argument to demonstrate the Andean origin of
C
[177] their culture. However, among these Indians, the numerous specimens of this category of receptacles found in each village show such similarities with the puco of the adjoining Andean regions that we are obliged to consider them as borrowed forms.

Chané SF8
Arawakan Indians SR6
Guarani SM4
Peruvian Prehistory SE4

C /412 cont./

415 171 pp 415 18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C Ce 415 171 In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the C Ce [177] Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is mani- A [415] fested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C Ce G 415 The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C 531 184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII,[1] 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[1] [See pp. 200-201 -- Analyst]

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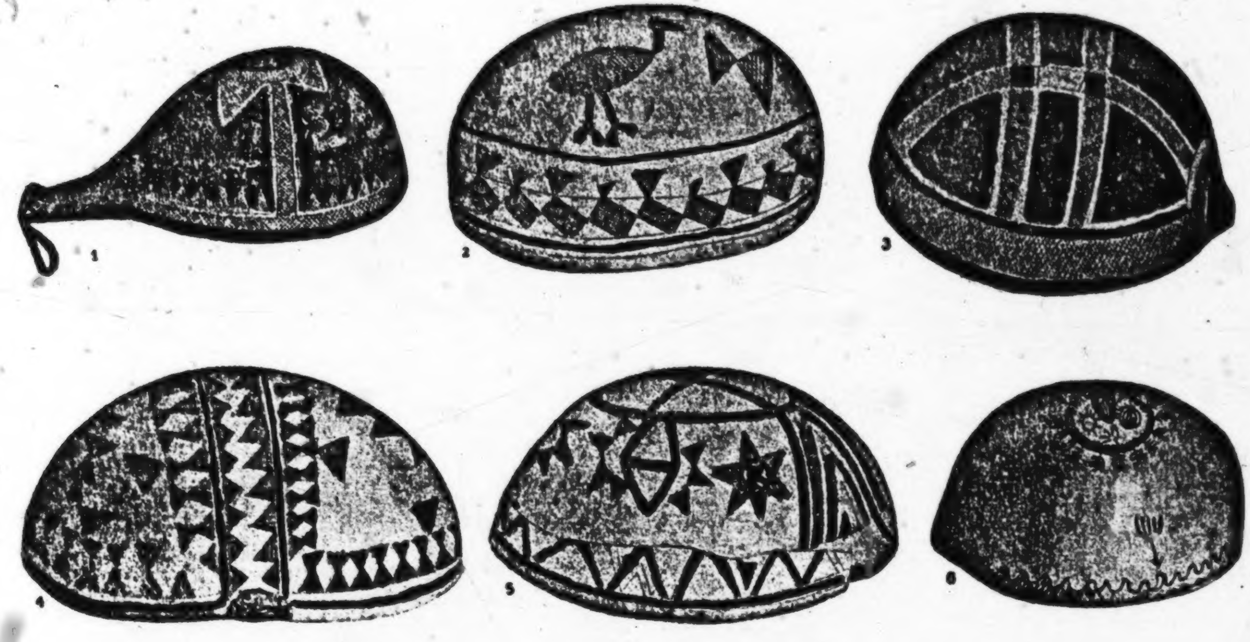
[199]

[108]

Plate LXIX



/See p. 264 for caption./

415
531 /Captions for Plates LXI-LXXI, pp. 252-262 cont./

LXVII Incised, pyrographed, and painted calabashes. Prov.: 1, Caratindi (Igũembé); 2 and 6, Macharetí; 3, Tiwiraiti; 4, Tintapaw (upper Pilcomayo); 5, Caipipendí. Remarks: On No. 3, more or less deformed numbers. Calabash No. 4 is painted, pyrographed, and incised. (Nos. 1-5 and 5 /*sic*/ = 1/?; 4-5 /*sic*/ = 1/5 approximate nat. size.)

LXVIII Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ñawirenda; 2 *a* and *b*, Caratindi (Igũembé Valley); 3 *a* and *b*, Yumbía; 4, Ibopeytí. Remark: On No. 3 *a* and *b* a very stylized bird has been represented. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXIX Pyrographed and incised calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 3, Caipipendí; 2 and 4, Macharetí; 5, Tiwiraiti (upper Pilcomayo); 6, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo). Remarks: Calabash No. 1 is decorated with a series of engraved numbers going from 1 to 10; Calabash No. 6 with motifs clearly European in inspiration. (Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6 = 1/2; 2 and 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

[801]
● [177]

LXX Incised and pyrographed calabashes. Chiriguano. Prov.: 1 and 4, Tarairi; 2, Macharetí; 3, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1 and 2 = 1/3; 3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

LXXI Painted, incised, and pyrographed calabashes. Prov.: 1, Ivu; 2, Igũembé; 3 and 4, Caipipendí. (Nos. 1-3 = 1/2; 4 = 1/3 approximate nat. size.)

177 531 [462] [167] /430 cont./ Let us not forget that pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, ? a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, ?, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 322 386 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou. This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

C /431 cont./
531 by taking off the epidermis which covers it, except at the places
322 which are to remain uncolored. Then they smear its exterior
386 surface with roucou and scrape the tegument where they have
saved it. The figures then stand out in red against a yellowish
background. An analogous process is in use among the Pauserna
(Nordenskiöld 5, p. 344). The motifs decorating most of the

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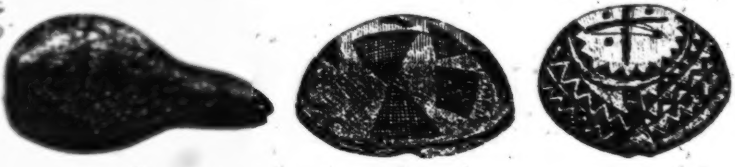

Fig. 86. a, b, and c. Miniature calabashes, "liqueur glasses" and children's toys. Chiriguano and Chané. Prov.: a, Tuyunti, near Aguaray (Salta Chaco); b, Ñawirenda (upper Pilcomayo); c, id. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

C
The motifs decorating most of the
531 painted calabashes I collected in Ivu are unfortunately very
● 177 much influenced by European models, and beside very pretty
designs one finds others of the most distressing banality.

/431 cont./

Chapter VIII

Weaving

286 [177] Weaving is a very widespread industry among the Chiriguano. Unfortunately, at the present time its products are commonplace and, since they have been using aniline dyes (1), often very ugly.

386 824 1. The Chiriguano used to extract blue dye from a plant they call kaa-howi, that is to say, "blue grass." They also used to grow it. In order to color their tiru (large sleeveless bag slipped on over the tipoy, of the same shape but less ample), they dipped them into a decoction of this grass. Sometimes also they used to add coloring woods, such as palo soto or quebracho, to this bouillon. The leaves of a tree which easily reaches a height of eight to ten meters, the iwira kaa-howi, also furnish a blue dye, but for that they must be young and the tree must be in bloom.

With piari, black resin which exudes from the trunk of the algarroba (Prosopis), Chiriguano women blacken the tiru which they had dyed blue. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc., pp. 16-17 and 173.)

286 [291] [177] Most of their ponchos are copied from those of the Bolivian half-breeds.

/432/ The type of loom prevalent among the Chiriguano is the one which has been given the name Arawak loom. Plate LXXII[1] gives an idea of it. Two forked sticks are set in the ground. They support two /Fig. 87 appears here/ parallel crossbars, one of which, the lower one, is a pestle of hard and heavy wood. The warp threads are rolled around them, but at each circuit turn back on themselves after going over a /433/ small cord stretched parallel to the ground. Once the cloth is finished, this string is removed, and in an instant the piece of cloth, which until then formed an endless band, opens up (Fig. 91).[2]

[1] [See P. 244--Analyst]

[2] [See P. 275 -- Analyst]

C /436 cont./

286 Modern Chiriguano fabrics show almost no originality. They
531 are generally plain, and, if they present some linear motifs,
● 177 these are servilely copied from models coming from the Andean
000 region. The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of

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413

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[237]
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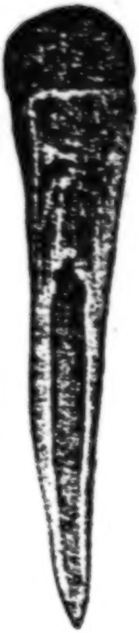
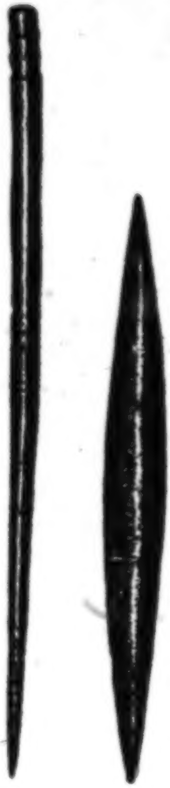


Fig. 92. Metatarsal bone of a mammal, carved in the shape of a dagger, which the Chiriguano women utilize to cross and then tighten the warp threads. Prov.: Ivu. (1/2 nat. size.)



Figs. 93-94. Awls (kiruna) for crossing and then tightening the warp threads. Prov.: Salado Grande. (2/5 nat. size.)

M.Q.
286 The Quichua /Quechua/ fabrics, prototypes of those of
531 the Chiriguano, are nevertheless of better quality and greater richness of ornamentation. In addition to purely geometric designs they are often decorated with small figures representing animals or human beings.

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Tupinamba SQ9
Guarani SM4
Chané SF8

/436 cont./

000 animals or human beings. There is nothing like that among the
C 286 Chiriguano. The simplicity /437/ of their fabrics forms a striking
531 contrast with the richness and variety of the decoration of their
171 pottery. Their inferiority in this respect is far from corresponding
C to the skillfulness which is their wont in all their activities. It is
286 enough to see the admirable pieces of work executed by little
174 Chiriguano girls in the missions to realize what they would have
857 been capable of if historic traditions had not held them away
T-G from this art. Their distant Tupi-Guarani ancestors were
286 acquainted with only rudimentary forms of weaving, and it can
174 be asserted that /Fig. 95 appears here/ this industry remained
foreign to all the Tupi tribes which did not undergo the influence
T of a nation more civilized than they. The Tupinamba of the
286 Brazilian coast apparently practiced only the double-thread
174 technique (Doppelfadentechnick) by means of which they used
G to make their hammocks. The ancient chroniclers note the use
286 of the tipoy among the ancient Guarani of Paraguay, which is an
[175] indication of the existence of weaving among that subdivision
[291] of the Tupi family. Their present-day descendants, the Kainguá
/Caingua/, could pass for good weavers to judge by the fineness
G of the several fabrics which have been collected among them.
[291] These are for the most part wide belts which they pass between
their legs and knot around their loins. In reality, weaving is in
its beginnings among them, /438/ as is shown by their loom. It
is only a simple frame around which the warp threads are coiled.
The woof is passed through, thread after thread, as in darning.

C No doubt it was the Chané who taught the Chiriguano to weave,
Ce and as they had probably not reached a /Fig. 96 appears here/
286 very high level in this art, they could only transmit to their
177 successors and suzerains, the Chiriguan, a still little-developed
technique, which the latter have scarcely improved on.

Gy /439 cont./
285 p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the
482 Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very an-
[824] noyed not to find in the region into which they had come the
palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit
C of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are
Gy brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period
285 from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leav-
482 ing their country of origin, both were acquainted with this
174 type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba
824 of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first
[144] cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206).
[197] The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano
is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indis-
● 177 pensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the
482 Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either
the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano:
añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so
characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in
general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each
C family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99).
[171] In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays
its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see
pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just
C enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although
[286] considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the
seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any
means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka
I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the
C Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose.
[563] In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano,
[439] it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears
here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p.282/) (1).

C
286 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives
482 the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano
171 carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text continues on p. 283]

/441 cont./

174 Everything thus leaves us to suppose that, in the early period of
177 their settling on the western confines of the Bolivian Chaco, the
286 Chiriguano procured by barter the carrying nets intended to re-
482 place the back baskets they had used until then. It was only later
[437] that they learned to make them themselves, adopting only the simplest and easiest of techniques besides. Thanks to this example we can catch alive the causes which have motivated the adoption of a new cultural element after the disappearance of another which rendered the same services. For that, two factors have come into play, the physical environment and the ethnic one. There was adaptation and borrowing at the same time. This fact also proves that a relatively civilized people never hesitates to appropriate the inventions of more barbaric tribes when they find some advantage in it.

285 The present poverty of the basketwork industry among the
17 Chiriguano does not imply that it is insignificant and worthless. Perhaps before the decline of this nation it was more widely represented in each village. I was able to observe that the disappearance of basketwork /442/ went along with the influence of the white men. But, for the reasons I have given above, I do not believe that at any time there could have been found among the Chiriguano that abundance of objects made of basketwork which travelers noted among the Indians of Guiana or the Amazon basin. Formerly, when the ancestors of the Chiriguano were still living in Paraguay and Brazil, they possessed basketwork identical with that of the tribes inhabiting the regions I have alluded to. Proof of it is furnished by the survival among the modern Chiriguano of various types of baskets, fire fans, and sieves, of which we find /Fig. 101 appears here/ the exact equivalent only in Guiana and the Amazon basin. As we shall ascertain in the course of this study, the identity between these two ethnic areas is perfect from this point of view. The only difficulty is to know whether in this case it is a matter of the remains of an industry peculiar to the Chané Indians of Arawak origin, whose influence upon the Chiriguano was considerable, or whether this basketwork only continues that of the ancient Guarani emigrants. In my opinion the question does not need to be asked. The basketwork of the

/444 cont./

285 184 distribution of these two techniques must have been in former times. We shall find this difficulty every time we consider the diffusion of a cultural element peculiar to these Indians.

285 177 Wicker work basketry has undergone strong European influence. The agents have been the half-breeds of the department of Tarija, who live in constant contact with the Chiriguano. This foreign influence on the baskets belonging to this technique is manifested by modifications of the original forms and improvements of details, such as horseshoe handles.

285 171 Among the Chiriguano I did not find a single basket woven with the technique called "in spirals" (coiled basketry /named in English/), although in olden times it was in use among the Andean populations who used to and still do live in contact with the Chiriguano. Basketwork "in spirals" has continued on the altiplano, as the basket of Fig. 103, which I bought in La Quiaca, proves.

Basketry in "Wicker Work"

285 Mason (p. 228) designates under the name of wicker basketry a type obtained with the following technique: a rigid framework composed of thick, solid elements is intercrossed by thinner, more flexible elements. In the course of this work I shall call warp the rigid elements of the framework, and the ones crossing them, woof. The woof passes alternately over and under each element of the warp. This technique is well known to us: it is that of our wicker baskets, trunks, and back baskets (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /).

Because of its very simplicity we have a right to suppose that this technique is old. It is only a variety of checker work /named in English/, the most elementary of all the techniques. By checker work we understand the process which consists of interlacing flexible bands so as to obtain a checkerboard design. The only piece of basketry made with this technique that I know of in the region we are concerned with is a basket that Eric von Rosen

/448/

285 171 177 The horseshoe handles which surmount some of these baskets (Plate LXXV, 1 and 3)[A] seem to me to come from imitation of European or half-breed basketwork. Among the half-breeds of the eastern slopes of the Andes I found baskets which had exact replicas among the Chiriguano (see, for example, Fig. 108 /see p. 302 /) and attested eloquently to the borrowing of the latter.

285
171

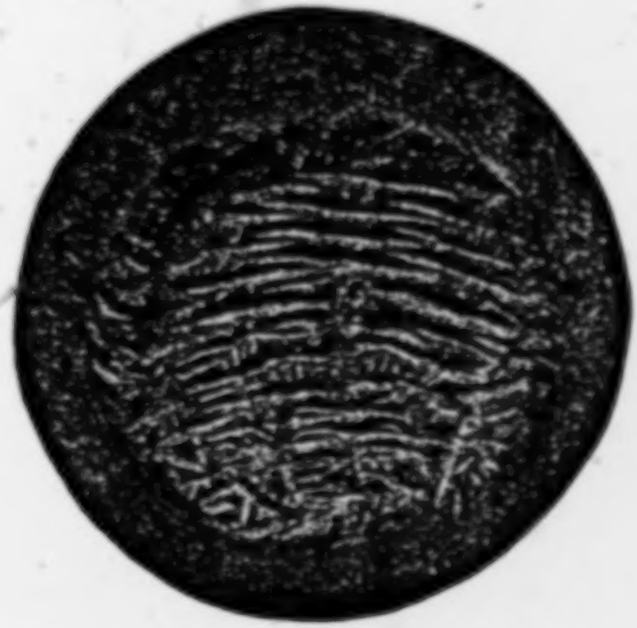


Fig. 102. Base of a vessel from the mountainous region of Tucumán Province, and bearing the impressions of a tray or basket in wicker work, on which it rested during its manufacture.

Besides, the Chiriguano give the Spanish name of canastos to baskets of European form /Fig. 103 appears here./

Among the baskets in wicker work there are some (Plate LXXV, 4) which in form and technique are singularly reminiscent of the baskets of Brazilian Guiana which Koch-Grünberg (?, Vol. II, p. 221, Fig. 242 a, b, c) compares to carafes. (Cf. also Roth, Plate 104, Fig. C.)

[A] [See p. 299--Analyst]

/450 cont./

285 Plate LXXV, Figure 2. Height, 16 centimeters: maximum diameter, 17.5 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo).

This basket deserves a place apart by virtue of its general shape, the handles it has, and the care with which it was plaited.

The handles with which it is provided are formed by an element of the woof which, after making the round of the warp, takes off from it to pass three times, perpendicularly, under the framework of the basket. /Plates LXXIII-LXXVI appear here./

/451/ The handle thus obtained is reinforced by a supplementary tigella which laces among the elements just as the woof does (see Fig. 107 /see p.301 /). Plate /Fig. 106 appears here/ LXXVI, 2, shows us the fashion in which the basket-maker proceeded in order to group the warp elements, which are 15 in number.

Plate LXXV, Figure 3. /Fig. 107 appears here./ Height, 16 centimeters: maximum diameter, 15 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The framework is composed of flat, brittle stalks always going in groups of two. The added handle is made of twisted fibers. [177] The general form of this basket betrays European influence.

Plate LXXV, Figure 4. Height, 15 centimeters: diameter, 12 centimeters. Provenance: Ñawirenda (mouth of the Salado River).

The warp is formed of flat, thin elements wider than those of the woof. The handles /452/ are added on. They are formed by a stalk coiled on itself and passing three times under the woof elements. One stalk interlaces there exactly as the woof interlaces with the warp. /Fig. 108 appears here./

Plate LXXVII, Figure 1.[a] Height, 8 centimeters: diameter, 16 centimeters. Provenance: Ibopeytí (upper Pilcomayo). /Fig. 109 appears here./

This little, slightly rounded basket is remarkable for its rigidity and strength. The technique is still the same as we have examined thus far. The warp is composed of 15 elements arranged at the base exactly as on Plate LXXVI, 1.

Plate LXXVII, Figure 2. Height, 9 centimeters: width, 11 centimeters. Provenance: Tiwapaw (mouth of the Salado River, upper Pilcomayo).

[a] [See p 304--Analyst]

/452 cont./

285 This small basket is closely related to the preceding one in its technique. The warp is made of four fibrous bands which cross in octagons and are then divided into three /Plate LXXVII appears here/ /453/ or two diverging elements which form the warp (see Fig. 108 /see p. 301/).

Figure 108. Height, 17 centimeters; maximum diameter, 20 centimeters. Provenance: Ivu.

● [199] There is no doubt that this basket is a pure and simple imitation of European ones. I have seen baskets identical from the point of view of form and technique among the half-breeds of the department of Tarija.

3. Basketry in "Twilled Work"

The term twilled work designates the basketry technique in which the woof elements pass over two or several elements of the warp so as to produce with the contexture of the fabric diagonal motifs and an infinity of others all based on the changes of rhythm in the number of the warp elements which have been skipped over (Mason, p. 234).

285
191 In the pages where I dealt with wicker work I have already had occasion to note the affinities which not only the technique but even the form of Chiriguano baskets offer with those from Guiana. The analogy is still more striking with twilled baskets. We have among the Chiriguano the exact counterpart of the famous telescope baskets or pegall of Guiana. These are rectangular baskets in two parts, one fitting into the other and shutting hermetically (Plates LXXVIII, LXXX,[a] and Figs. 110 and 111). Nordenskiöld (10, p. 173) has given us a map indicating the distribution of baskets provided with a cover into which they fit more or less completely. These "telescope" baskets are particularly abundant north of the Amazon. I suspect that the famous karameno of the Tupinamba, in which the latter put their feathers, must have belonged to this type. Among the Tupi-Guarani, the only ones where this type of closure has been noted are the Guarayú, Pauserna, Mauhé /Maué/, and Oyampi (Métraux, 5, p. 253).

[a] [See pp. 309 & 309 respectively -- Analyst]

/464 cont./

796	Eyu jekuama	Come and kiss me
832	Šemireho mi	My little wife
786	Diyuru emesie	Give me thy mouth
539	Tuiña dipota	I love thee much
	Še songo pe	With my heart
	Ime deresa ikavi	Thou hast pretty eyes
	Ime diyuro misiray	Thou hast a little mouth
	Tuiña dipota	I love thee much
	Pairamo ayporu deve.	For that I am going to ask for thee.

796 532 522 During this time young or old men with their faces covered by a mask (añawasu) run here and there, force the people to dance by blows of a stick, play tricks on them, and address jokes to them.

796 [273] The feast lasts as long as there is kãwi or alcohol. At the moment when it is on the point of ending, a final ceremony takes place. The rite of going out is similar to the rite of entering: the couple who planted the flowery stick tear it from the ground and go out of the village, followed by the añawasu and all those who took part in the festival. The procession advances to a certain distance from the village to the sound of the flutes and drums. They throw away the masks and throw stones while shouting. The carnival is finished and everyone goes home. [585] Some take along their new wife, for it is at this moment that most marriages are celebrated.

796 ● 177 178 [241] The carnival festivity such as I have just described involves only a few elements borrowed from the half-breeds or creoles, outside of the coincidence of dates. This is an ancient feast of a purely agricultural character, which the Chiriguano have acquired the habit of celebrating at the same time as the Bolivian carnival. Besides, the Indians of Ibopeytí are pagans.

796 241 171 The masked men are supposed to represent the spirits of the dead, as their name indicates (aña: spirit; wasu: great). As in the festivals of the Guianas and Central America, they come in numbers /Plate LXXXVI appears here/ /465/ to insure for their

[text continues on p. 329]

Chané SF8
Arawakan Indians SR6

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
241 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano
borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
Ce rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
241 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.

532 In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
[797] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending
peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games:
masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the
dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

C Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
796 a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
535 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
[536] dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more
times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the
same circle, and finally the same number of times they press
against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned
toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this
position until another couple dances around them. These do
not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman
and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the
middle of the others."

Guarani SM4
Tupinamba SO9

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C
302 Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest
G of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after
T
[302] the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil,
the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior
C part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2,
● [177] pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the
Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned
the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape
of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the
forehead from one temple to the other.

C
302 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tend-
178 ing to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C
[291] The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot
[648] their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

---

1. *Annuae litterae*, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."

(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 462 412 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

412 174 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important [513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day [286] [177] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text continues on p. 338]

/470 cont./

352 [286] ● [177] and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 854 754 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the new-born child die.

342 351

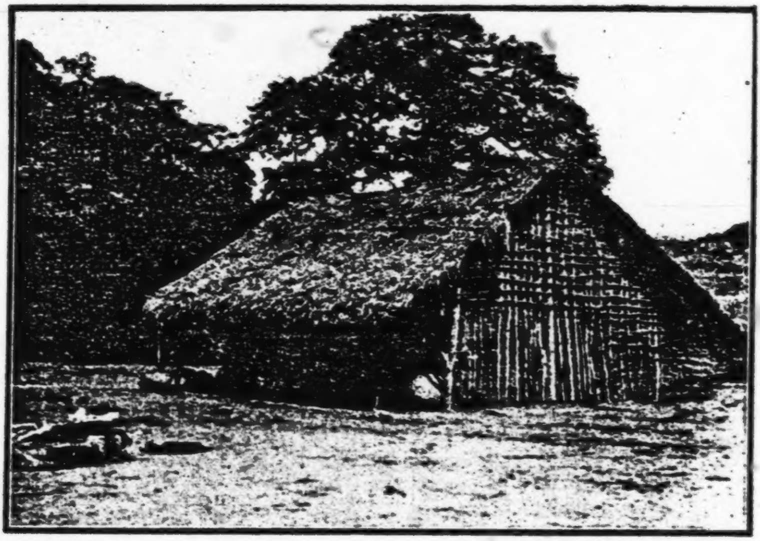


Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A.M.)

353 [415] Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four [352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 127).

[Text Continues on P. 342]

/471 cont./

353 and 127). Everything in the world can be found there: small vessels, baskets, boxes, packages carefully wrapped in cloth, in short, a thousand little objects which the Chiriguano women regard as their treasure. From the roof hang hooks from which [414] are suspended household effects or supplies. These hooks are [237] generally of wood, but there are some also which are formed by a deer foot bent back and dried in the sun (Fig. 128).

Every chink in the walls is transformed into a hiding-place where the women put their scissors, the men their knives or combs. /472/ Bows and arrows are slipped between the struts of the roof.

In some huts whose walls are plastered with earth, the Indians arrange niches in the shape of swallows' nests, which serve as rudimentary cupboards. Might there be in that a distant remembrance of the niches so char[illegible]eristic of Inca houses? It is possible.

352 The inhabitants of each hut sit on the cots or on /Figs. 516 130-132 appear here/ chairs with backs very well copied from [177] those of the creoles. The women generally squat on the ground. [178] On the upper Pilcomayo, one still finds benches with two seats (Fig. 129), a cultural element which the Chiriguano inherited from their ancestors of the Amazon basin.

356 The fire for cooking is lighted in the middle of the hut. [354] Chiriguano dwellings are clean. I have never caught fleas or other vermin there as I have in the ranchos of creoles or half-breeds. The women sweep their huts at least once a day. One is rarely disturbed there by mice (Fig. 132).

/*474 cont.*/

524 171 The "snake designs" (*mboi kwatía*) (Plate XC, Fig. 3) have their equivalents among the Akawoi, Arawak, Wapišana, and Patamona (Roth, Fig. 289, Fig. 526), but represent, according to these Indians: "four fish walking" (*sic*). In his book on the Indians of the Chaco, /Plates LXXXIX and XC appear here/ /*475*/ Nordenskiöld (*2*, Fig. 25, p. 71) gives the photograph of a Choroti child who has just executed a *cat-craddle* identical with our "snake design." It is regrettable that Nordenskiöld has not given its meaning.

524 The string figure on Plate XC,[1] 2 represents the mark borne by the woolen blankets (*jergón*) the creoles put under their saddles. There is no doubt that the indigenous meaning of this figure has been forgotten and replaced by a new appellation. This is probably what has happened also to the *cat-craddle* (Fig. 136) named *culo de caballo* /horse's rear end/. /Fig. 136 appears here./ /See p.350./

String figures can be subdivided into two categories, the first including all those which form a stable figure like a design, and the second those which represent an object, animal, or organ by synthesizing its characteristic movement.

Thus the string figures on Plates LXXXIX-XC belong to the first class, but the one which the Indian on Figure 136 is in the act of executing belongs to the second. The latter *cat-craddle* consists in opening or closing a small circle of string which is supposed to represent the contractions of a horse's anus.

524 171 Among the Siusí there are also mobile string figures which symbolize an animal by imitating its typical movements (the "caterpillar," for example) exactly as among the Chiriguano.

524 171 ● 177 The resemblances between the Chiriguano string figures and those of the /*476*/ Guianan tribes could be explained by Arawak influence, and we could suppose that the Chané kept the figures common to the whole family. String figures travel very rapidly and only their meaning changes. Therefore it is possible that the Chiriguano were acquainted with them before being in contact with the Arawak.

[1] [See p. 349--Analyst]

115 /476 cont./

123 126 [322] [463] became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

[532] At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

115 126 532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p. 355/, 5, 7,, and Plate XCII /see p. 356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

● [177] José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Ascensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

123 126 532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how."

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C

113 The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano*
114 have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most im-
portant of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domin-
guez (1918), Gandia (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925),
Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among
the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

C
CULTURE

Ce
SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

128 As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following
Ce data may apply to both tribes.

241 **Farming.**—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient
C farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were prob-
ably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean
● [177] area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the
C *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had
Ce their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger
extent than any other *Tupí-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood
[243] is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay.
Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties),
Ce sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia*
[244] sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the
Parapeti River.

C These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti
[177] region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World
adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugar-
[137] cane, and sorghum.

C *Chiriguano* men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as
241 a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task
825 which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil,
but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The
Ce latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which
243 prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the
244 *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while
462 pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

C **Collecting wild food.**—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist
222 on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco
C Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Ce **Hunting.**—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in
224 modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted
C with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs.
Ce Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas.
223 Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are
used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

252 *Chiriguano* mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and
415 heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those
412 used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a
264 spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay
bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons.
||[317] Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating
[263] the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 **Dwellings.**—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large com-
178 munal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived
592 together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga,
1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are
now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-
and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small
veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two
or three closely related families, generally parents with their married
children.

361 The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped
178 around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A store-
[343] house is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops
[712] against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan
ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single
or double palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing.**—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a
● 177 common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton
tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

291 *Chiriguano* women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded.

302 412 Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband.

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

302 178 **Body painting.**—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass.

301 178 **Ornaments.**—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip.

301 177 [439] Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads.

515 824 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory.

302 Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Boats.**—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River.

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The de luxe vases and dishes, typologically related to vessels in the archeological pottery of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina, were decorated with distinctly Andean patterns (figs. 58, 60). The most common vessel is the yambui, a subglobular vase with ears, in which chicha was served. The motifs are mainly geometrical and most of them

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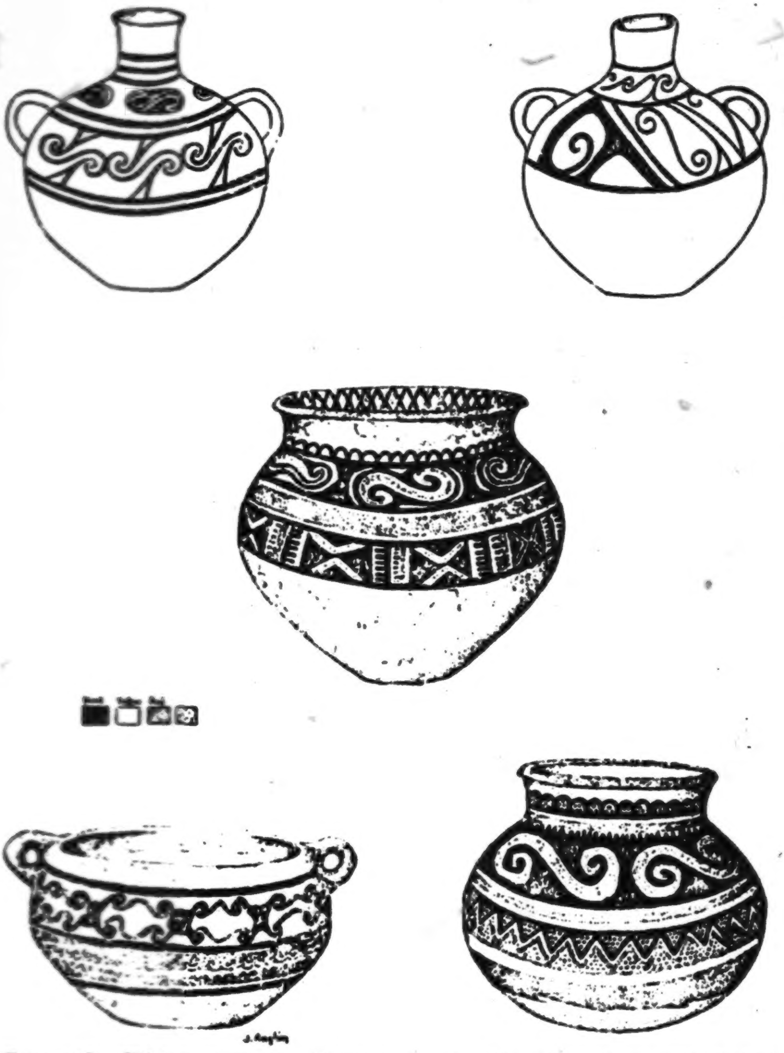

FIGURE 60.—*Chiriguano* pottery. Specimen at *top, right,* a *Humahuaca* archeological specimen included for comparison. (Approximately 1/7 actual size.) (Redrawn from Métraux, 1930 b, fig. 70, pls. 35, 37, 44.)

Chane SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic 000
was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the c 726
army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village c
danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned [727]
with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts
of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims c 727
were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), 266
the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows.
Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. c 567
In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were 727
kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly c 534
copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. 177
The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell
are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Cc
Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapetí 534
River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with c 535
their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles. c

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of 273
chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are 628
ceremoniously invited. 527

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the c 276
Chiriguano for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the c 273
Chiriguano, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following 462
harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●

Chané SF8

273 462 plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large Ce 273 jars. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

C Ce 525 [177] **Gambling.**—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

C 177 525 European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

C 526 [171] **Games.**—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and Ce strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

526 Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapetí River, like so many Guiana tribes, Ce [439] played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

C 524 *Chiriguano* women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

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RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

77 177 797 During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a C culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning [794] [171] god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

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[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited C 756
by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were re- 554
ceived with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They
served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter
capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against C
epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American 756
pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small 755
cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a
large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to
discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community
as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring C
rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure 887
diseases which required the administration of drugs. 759

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a Ee
period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft 541
wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks 535
are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are 532
survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or 177 ●
ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and 174
Chiriguano masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of
old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the C 773
evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An 824
eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or [789]
"yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to
frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of C [805]
bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to
reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld Ee 773
(1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapetí River region. The 114
collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano*
villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share Ee
substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, 773
however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters,
and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them.
An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/25 cont./
137 forth bittersweet and very good. These are ash-colored and
824 pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites.
The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland
like a crown of thorns; it has its calyx, five petals and three
pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is
certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PIÑON. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists
● [177] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano
region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere,
and its maximum height is three meters. Its small
[757] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black
seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted
in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be
used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks
and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams,
which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places
[342] the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has
no special qualities; only its branches are useful in the building
of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little
use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny
leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the
weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is
neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify
their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is
called "Igũirapucu."

SAÚCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height, its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/28 cont./

139 There is another small *caraguata* which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
[262] it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this *tilandsia* is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy, and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions. The aloe is similar to the second type of *tilandsia*, but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those of the *tilandsia* are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so
pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly
in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is
produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the
plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow
dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
● [197] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it
is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such
places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the
Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet
potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state,
which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which
is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and
allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili
pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a
plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it,
and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another
kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and
bears spontaneously; it is called *arivivi* by the whites and
"*quii rai*" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness.

/77 cont./

197 "Conumi," lad, do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guaraní.

197 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
178 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu,
and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former
places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the
latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and
2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

197 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
178 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
177 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
797 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason,
instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/94 cont./

631 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton
645 should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[797] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano
[162] towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivo with 657 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

797 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to
● 177 take over the political government of a town, in spite of the
463 fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians,
648 carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/103 cont./

799 of the Indians (1).

[721] 1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 682 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [199] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/110 cont./

144 Some explorers and travelers. after having happily concluded their investigative labors. have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory. but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare. and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage. from which generally comes propagation and change in races (2).

[563]
● [199]
[199]

> 2. In 20 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

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144 If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change. on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860. which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza. and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition. among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum. what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys. in old women and in damsels. before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist. because an occasional isolated case. an occasional family. where the mixture of the two races has taken place. cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly: they can devote little time to the study of a race. and consequently their written reports. worthy of all respect. are somewhat exaggerated. as were those of the Spaniards

/116 cont./

Difficulties in Reducing Them

797 829 177 If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors: Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (2)!

> 2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

797 not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mission to
829 take me to found a mission in his town and thus to free it
● 177 from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said. For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

797 /117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary
829 to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not
871 resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be given clothing.
177 No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as *a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying,* "Ropa emeé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829 It has already been seen that the Tarairi mission was
797 founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to
177 take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./
829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
● 177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883. It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish
girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any
more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that
these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and
drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order
not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they
extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the
Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully
well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
[881] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at
[842] the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible
thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is
offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous
laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances,
and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
571 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
797 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering
the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/123 cont./

797 829 ● 179 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

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1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 511 [132] [166] Before the Parapiti missions were organized, those Indians suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/124 cont./

797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

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●177 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/

Philanthropy

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829 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may have to obtain it. [136] If someone is sick, he is visited by many; if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible
776 to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say
true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no
contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find
one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people
who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?"
they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?"
They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not
799 know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened
● 199 on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the
829 company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of
[114] Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part
in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

> 1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Aña, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Aña.

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Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/136 cont./

773 [585] [177] wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Catholic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

[595] 1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others,to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322 2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 •177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But 184 in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 171 + they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

/177 cont./

Fire

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In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day; it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the
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way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated
[435]
[276]
and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and show their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

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When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel; these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a boll of wild cotton or the flower of the samuu, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they clear at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /178/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[273]
1. When the toad handed over fire to the two

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[237] the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragũirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

> 2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragũirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/

Textiles

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[294] Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

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● [177] Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites introduced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the [186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

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Clothing

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it
301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it
302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother,
[286] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors,
[177] but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301 302 [177] buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions. The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[797] [114] [121] 1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 294 285 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai; they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect 292 554 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).

291 302 304 178 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The
[562] same thing can be said of other antiquities.
I have placed in this chapter the method for
making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man
benefits and both are counted among his
garments.

Conveniences

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from
291 it. The belt is called "Bosa," doubtless because it has a bolsa
415 /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaecagũe, a piece of bone, the Itarapúa, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

• [177] 1. The Bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [177] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

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301 2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

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756 Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/, Itogũi; necklaces, Risi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogũi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogũi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/197 cont./

301 These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try
562 to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be
[439] seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern,
brought by traders, especially peddlers (?).

> 2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the
184 neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower him-
301 self to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are
186 inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing
177 the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him.
He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/226 cont./

> 881 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even
> 178 their mothers, and the consequences are sad
> in no few cases. They do not tell anyone
> because the older girls make fun of them.

163 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the
582 neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having
children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at
581 about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano
women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they
came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they
contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with
the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until
giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored
799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the
581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because
it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the
natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano
does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a
hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping
at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such
785 as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the
184 Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month
the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and
they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that
they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned
sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing
the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be
178 noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous
● 177 fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today
the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making
them understand that all this is superstition, because of the
example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they
have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/227 cont./

881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
● 177 of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a V, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call *Parizenta*.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the *ú ú* of his affirmative answers and to adopt the *Ta* suitable for the *Cuimbae*, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, and other relatives make him understand that for this it is
[301] necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip,
[554] *Tembe*, pierced and to place in the hole the *Tembeta*, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The *tembeta* is a word made up of *tembe*, lower lip, and *ta* or *ita*, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbío, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

> 1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite [326] [439] [179] of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

301 171 The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race: indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world: in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

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539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunpa continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunpa (1).

> 1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

540 Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

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> 2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

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648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425] 1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting

● 177 648 as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

> 1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

> 2. The Aguara-Tunpa, Fox God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

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Modern Farming and Seeds

241 ● 177 [407] Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been substituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they are very poor.

[868] [407] [231] 46 The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with all the perfection that these implements require. It is satisfying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in exchange double daily wages (1).

> 1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243 262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

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The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is; the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

● [177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/; there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are: Cumanda háigũe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda úú, black bean; Cumanda gũiraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandansi, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Gũira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

244 1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

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262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Gũindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192]
● [177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

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262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

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252 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize, 262 Hapi; when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagũĩ rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready; anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, [263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273 Cangũĩ — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangũĩ of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangũĩ is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

•[77] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

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224 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to
184 hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/
in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food
[231] available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep,
[574] others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to
offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb
or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that
anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild
animals.

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugüi and which is a species of crow.
● [177] The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

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000 those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526] 1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

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● 177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

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241 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better
231 and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of
177 opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom
they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

> 2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year
221 that he calls *Mbaepiro*, which literally means a dry thing or
things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to
autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their
beauty and raiment. Men and women then are busy carrying in
[343] what the land has produced for them; the maize crop is kept in
the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called *Abatío*, maize
house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the
town for the daily meal and for the preparation of *chicha* (3).

> 3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness,
drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing
with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better
life than the greatest ruler in the world. The harvest is cut be-
[221] tween May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly
god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having
the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a
small quantity of *chicha* to be drunk among a few friends and
relatives.

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527 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always
273 understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas
it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the
chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this
is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are
527 in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten
days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau
574 vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with
thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has
been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance
of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest
in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in
his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without
273 resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were
flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their
faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with
the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of
them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is
very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds
himself, saying, Asagũipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting
over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in.
Poor beast! (1)

[178] 1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano
was almost never complete; today, with the use
of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness.
Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in
[997] their drunkenness; they say that they have been
[177] drunk, but not as an honorable act.

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that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

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/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu nderee, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

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If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. [184] The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648]
1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

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541 Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid;
177 he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers
[648] from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival
[178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of
Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are
[461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that
[292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all
year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he
gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy
clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days
all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every
form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put
on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the
Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between
[532] blacks and whites: the men well dressed, and even the infidel
women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored
ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they
have made beforehand by carving toborochi wood; young men
prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others,
such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the
dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed
because it is carnival.

541 By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one
535 drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and
[527] comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the
maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu.
[532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival,
dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and
the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise
with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually
mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the
fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

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535 541 times in different locations (1).

[292] [562] ● [177] 1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535 541 177 2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

Easter

796 177 Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/280 cont./

000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722 1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the
533 writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary
535 of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work
●177 that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726 2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they
[648) attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

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soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

Infidels

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The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

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> in Pipi: to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi: I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement: he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

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If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

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797 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched
• 177 over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

> 1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good
797 health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is al-
177 most sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

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761 797 177 difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion requires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without foundation that baptism causes death (1).

> 797 762 177 1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

797 177 When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live; they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

> 2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

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this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

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Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others [764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

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> 1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagüipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless, [799] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

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With regard to material things, the Indian in the missions has more freedom than the others outside. He does not lift a hand without being paid. He works in the construction of buildings, such as house, church, rooms for the teaching of letters, music, arts and crafts, he builds fences, and, despite the fact that all of this is for their benefit and that of their children, they are paid for it. They only have the task of planting and weeding, but in the end the missionary provides them with yokes of oxen, plowshares, and even harness, and the produce is theirs to keep or is used to buy merchandise. Thus they do nothing gratis (2).

> 2. The merchandise brought by the missionaries from Tarija and other places is distributed gratis to the students and sold at warehouse cost to the older ones.

They are completely free to work in their fields or for the whites, but they must tell the missionary or the cacique. Nevertheless, they do not always comply with this. If, however, someone needs them for work and they do not feel like it, they answer either that the missionary will not let them or that they must talk with him first, but it is enough for him to intervene and request it, and the Indian will come up with all sorts of objections, and if the missionary starts to listen to them all, soon nobody will obey him. He must show himself to be firm and that he knows how to distinguish true necessities or reasons from deceptions and traps, so that he will not be fooled. In the Chiriguano missions it is almost impossible to get 20 per cent of their labor, as the mission rules require, /illustration appears here/ /303/ believing perhaps that missionaries make them work for nothing, or are making a profit out of them (1).

> 1. The 20 per cent is not obtained in any mission. Only in Parapiti do the men work half a day per week, but this is a custom imposed by the priests before the founding of the mission, because they had no funds whatever. The missionaries take advantage of this custom for plantings and buildings which are for them themselves.

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Neophytes

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● 177 The infidels' children, or neophytes, grow up like their parents or even worse, being different from them in having a purely /304/ materialistic civilization; on the missionary's part special care is taken in their education; their parents hand them over, or, more accurately, the missionary takes them, from the age of seven, and they surrender them without the least resistance, but if they can hide them, they make no excuses and let them grow up in the forest (1).

> 1. Nobody should be surprised if they leave something to be desired and try to hide their children, because it should be taken into consideration that it was and is a pleasure for the infidel to see his son grow up to be like him.

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177 When they have entered the school, the children learn from the first letters up to writing, if they can; the more intelligent even learn music, and the most able learn masonry, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and tanning. The school is daily, morning and afternoon, and all of them attend from the age mentioned until they are grown up or married, which generally occurs at the age of 18 or 20. The children are absent from school only by permission, but there is never any lack of those who, when they can, mock the vigilance of the teacher, as even happens in the great centers.

The children have time to spare in which to learn reading, writing, and all that they ought to believe and practice in order to demonstrate their religious beliefs through good works. They are not ignorant of what our Holy Mother Church demands; they see the good examples of fervent Christians as well as the evils of others, and, since humanity is more inclined toward evil than toward good, the tender plants, not well grounded in the practices of Religion, can easily adhere to what is contrary to divine law

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797 871 ● 177 and our Holy Mother Church (2).

> 2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

> 1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 177 273 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167 593 578 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/308 cont./

167 464 511 of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101 167 2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797 871 191 177 The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

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797 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would
87 know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because
868 little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish
191 language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de
177 Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to
be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. *Semen est verbum Dei*; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

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1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden
291 the use of the *tipoy*, being forced to dress in the same way as
177 the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very
accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the *tipoy* again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /*botines*/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

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797 291 177 in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

000 [184] [492] 2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

Conclusion

797 In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648] The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177] /312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000 1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today.

C ce 342 [592] * [171] ce 361 342 [609]

village consisting of only a few big huts.[1]) These plainly correspond to the great family-houses known to us from Brazil, but which in Bolivia I have only seen among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe on the Lago Rojo-Aguado. CHOMÉ[2]) gives no exact information about the huts. He says they stood in a circle around an open place. In the middle of the square there was a special hut for strangers. According to NINO[3]) the Chiriguano formerly had round houses. He gives a rather lengthy description of these, but does not tell us the source of his information. NINO describes at length how the Chiriguano now build their houses.

C ce 342 ● 177

As early as the time of VIEDMA[4]) — end of the 18th century — they seem to have forsaken their original type of house and built themselves smaller huts. Since the dwelling-houses here retain no traces of their original shape, it is useless to make comparisons with other Indian huts. There is hardly anything in Indian culture which so quickly changes under the influence of the Whites as the houses. The acquisition of iron tools makes it possible to put up quickly properly built houses. An Indian tribe need consequently not have been long in contact with the Whites before they alter the style of their huts. This is not the case, to be sure, with all the tribes, for many, such as those in the interior of the Chaco, tenaciously preserve the primitive type of hut which, though small and inconvenient, affords greater protection from cold than the roomier dwellings of the Whites.

C ce * [171]

It would be of interest to find out in what measure the earth-plastering of huts is here an original Indian idea. I have attempted to indicate on a map the distribution of huts with earth-plastered walls, but I refrain from publishing it because, in the majority of cases, I cannot ascertain whether the Indians learned from the Whites to plaster their huts. Huts with earth-plastered walls are found among the Indians around Roraima in Guiana[1]) and among the Ijca[2]) in Columbia. The Indians at Mojos[3]) used to have such huts, and Outes[4]) mentions them from the Cainguá etc. Earth-plastered mestizo huts are also common in the Mizque valley in Bolivia.

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[1]) Annua de la Compañia de Jesús — Tucuman y Perú — 1596. «El mayor de los pueblos es de cinco casas; lo común es de tres; mas son muy largas, de más de 150 pasos, á dos aguas, con estantes en el medio sobre que se arma la cumbrera, y de estante á estante vive una parentela.» LIZÁRRAGA P. 532.

[2]) P. 313. «Pendant ce temps-là, je n'avais pas d'autre logement que le toit de *paille qui était au milieu de la place.*»

[3]) P. 174.

[4]) P. 181. «Sus casas son unos pequeños ranchos hechos de caña.»

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The Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, but not those on the Rio Parapiti, and the Chiriguano have maize-barns on piles.[5]) Occasionally the barn and dwelling-house are combined in such wise that the people live on the ground-floor and store their maize on the floor above. During my travels I have only seen barns on piles among the Mataco-Guisnay (one only), Mataco Vejos, and the Chacobo (one only). Some Quichua huts between the Rio Chapáre and Cochabamba are built on piles. I scarcely think these are original, however.

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Johannes Lehmann has written a treatise on pile-buildings all over the world. He mentions there their occurrence among several tribes in northern S. America, which are shown on the map below. The village on piles from La Plata mentioned by Lehmann after Heierli is, of course, not Indian; nor are the barns from the Argentine

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[1]) Thulin.

[2]) Bolinder (4), P. 35.

[3]) Marban P. 135; Castillo, P. 318.

[4]) Outes y Bruch (5) P. 93.

[5]) Already Lizárraga (P. 609) speaks of the maize-barns of the Chiriguano: «No dormian en el buhio, sino fuera, las espaldas seguras con unas piruas de maiz juncto al buhio (pirua es un cercado como de dos varas de hueco, rodeado de cañas, donde se encierra el maiz).»

S 342 RESE OF BAVARIA[1]) depicts numerous pile-buildings from the town of Guayaquil and its surroundings. On the lower Amazon the Indians and Mestizoes in general live in pile-buildings.[2])

II.

Beds and other fittings of the huts.

C Ce 352 177 The Chiriguano and Chané make use of platform beds as well as hammocks. The bedsteads are made of thick sticks, the underlay being covered with cane or long sticks. The most civilized Chiriguano also have bedsteads in which the underlay is made of plaited thongs — this having been learned from the Whites. I had always held that the platform bed was a culture-element which the Indians have obtained from the Whites. KARL V. D. STEINEN[3]) seems also to be of this opinion. This is not, however, correct, for the platform bed is a genuine Indian culture-element, which is worth closer study. Platform beds are mentioned as early as 1549 by PALOMINO[4]) from Chuquimayo in N. Peru among quite unvisited Indians, and there is not the least reason to suppose that the platform bed

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[1]) (2)

[2]) »Nos logares alagados de beira rio, como certas porções do Amazonas entre o Pará e Gurupá e em todo o litoral do archipelago de Marajó, ao menos na parte a O e SO d'esse archipelago, erguem as casas sobre paliçadas á maneira das cidades lacustres dos tempos prehistoricos .....» VERISSIMO P. 370.

[3]) (5) P. 75.

[4]) P. XLIX »Duermen en barbacoas sobre unos petates de caña.»

is a culture-element so coveted as in a few years to have C Ce
spread from the Whites in Peru to the interior of the country. 352
When the distribution of the platform bed is closely 177 ●
studied, it will be found that it is evidently a very old
culture-element which remains in places where the hammock
has not penetrated or has been found unpractical. In the c
land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians it is often too cold ce
to sleep in hammocks. A platform bed is therefore preferred 352
by them, especially when they have clothes to put 171*
under and over them. Hammocks are few and are mostly 513
used to recline upon during the day. I have endeavoured on 102
the map to show the geographical distribution of the platform S
bed. The summary does not, however, pretend to be 102
complete. Its aim is mainly to draw attention to a culture- 352
element which has often been overlooked, and which gives me the impression of being older than the hammock by which it has been relegated to certain tracts, particularly on the eastern slopes of the Andes, where it is rather cold to sleep in hammocks, and rather uncomfortable to sleep on the ground, as is the custom up on the high fells or farther to the south.

Table 2. Ee

The platform bed (Catre). Map. 2. 352

4. Chiriguano. 171*
5. Chané. Fig. 2. 102
18. Quichua, Riobamba, Rivet (2) P. 60. S
21. Cainguá, Ambrosetti (7) P. 697. 102
22. Yuracáre. 352
23. Churápa.
24. Chimane.
29. Caingang, Ambrosetti (1) P. 325. Is considered to be post - Columbian.
34. Jivaro, Rivet (1) P. 40.
35. Chimila, Bolinder (4) P. 52.
36. Ijca, » (4) P. 48. Only the medicinemen.

[Text continues on P.12]

c ce 352 * [171] c ce ● [177] received from their kinsfolk at Mojos, or they may even have brought it with them when they migrated to their present abode. Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané commonly use chairs of the type they have learned from the whites. They are made by themselves in the missions.

c ce [237] I have a rush mat from the Chané. Both the Chiriguano and the Chané have skin mats. I have already spoken of such mats in Part I of this work. The skin mat is naturally a southern culture-element.

c ce 353 c ce * [171] [415] The Chiriguano and Chané keep their belongings either hung from the ceiling or else on the floor. Clothes and other fragile things are often kept in large earthen vessels — a method of keeping one's belongings which I have not seen anywhere else. Cobo[1]) says that the Incas kept their clothes in a similar way.

c ce 353 *171 It is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané to fix wooden hooks in the roof of their huts on which to hang their belongings (fig. 4). Elsewhere I have only seen these hooks among the Churápa. In the Gothenburg Museum there is a collection by Liljewalch and Thulin of hooks made by Indian tribes on the Roraima. The only mention of them that I am aware of in literature on the subject is from the Araucanians.[2]) Small articles of this kind are, of course, easily overlooked, wherefore it is not at present possible to draw a map of their distribution. This is to be regretted, as the distribution of such small objects would offer points of great interest. It seems to me not unlikely that the wooden hook is an Andine culture-element. Within my sphere of work the hook does not occur among other Indians than those mentioned here.

c ce 353 415 Small articles are kept by the Chiriguano and Chané in cloth and leather bags, wooden boxes, baskets, armadillo scales, the scrotum of bulls, and in calabashes with or without lids.

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[1]) Cobo Vol. 4, P. 171.

[2]) Latcham (1) P. 338.

[Text continues on P.22]

C 241 water-melons, melons, figs, tuna[1]), oranges, cotton, millet, and reeds for arrow-shafts.

ce 241 [245] c ce [244] c ce [177] [262] Bananas are not cultivated. Among the Chané at the Rio Parapiti the sweet-potato is the most important cultivated plant. Of the plants mentioned, the sugar-cane, the melon, the watermelon, the fig, the orange and the millet are not American. All those cultivated plants which have been introduced by Europeans are of slight importance to the Indians. I have never seen mandioca cultivated, but I have heard that it is to be met with in the fields of these Indians. As a staple food of the people it is of no importance here.

c ce 412 177 Iron spades bought from the Whites are the tools employed nowadays. Very occasionally one still sees wooden spades. In Part I I have published a map of the geographical distribution of the spade.

The spade in S. America is evidently a western element of culture, i. e. the idea of fitting on a more or less broad blade to the lower part of the digging-stick is plainly derived from the western area of civilization.

Whence the Chiriguano got the idea of the shapely handles I do not know. They are too shapely for the art to have been derived from the Whites. They have obviously a long evolution behind them, and it is very probable that they had their origin in the Mountain area of civilization.

Hoes with iron blades occur. The Indians have got them from the Whites. I have not seen any primitive hoes, although we are here on the border of the area of distribution of the genuine American hoe[2]).

The Chiriguano and Chané use a small implement for removing the corn from the corn-cobs which I have described in Part I. P. 32.

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[1]) Opuntia.

c ce [114] [2]) It is incorrect to affirm, as Wissler does, (P. 27) that the hoe was unknown in S. America. Incas had hoes and they are found still among the Quichua.

C ce

411 [824] for arrow shafts has been completely destroyed by cattle along the Rio Parapiti. Formerly the Chané made the shafts for their arrows of »chuchio».

The arrow points are made of hard wood and sometimes of iron. Arrows with several tips are used for fishing and sometimes also for shooting birds. C [824] [226] Arrow-tips made of cactus spikes are used by some Chiriguano for fishing. Some characteristic types of arrows are depicted here (fig. 6). Some arrows are feathered to guide the flight. The feathers are fixed in the way that Meyer calls »Peruvian cemented feathering». The feathers are quite small as on Chaco arrows generally. Arrows with thickened heads (bird arrows) are very common. Some of them have the shape we see depicted here (fig. 6 E). This type does not occur among any of the other tribes I got to know during my travels, C ce *[171] but they are common among several peoples living in the east, e. g. the Cainguá, Guató, and Borosó, and in the northern part of S. America, among the Trio, Guahibo and others. C ●[171] They have most likely been introduced here by the Chiriguano. It is not probable that they have come from the Arawaks for, as a rule, they do not use blunt bird-arrows. In Part 1 I have published a map (No. 3) showing the distribution of the bird-arrow in S. America. Later on I will deal with arrows particularly used for fishing. C ce [283] *[171] The Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use a special kind of bast to bind round the arrow where the point is inserted in the shaft. The same kind of bast is not met with among the Choroti and Ashluslay or among the other Chaco tribes I have got to know. It occurs, however, among the Cainguá.

In part 1 I have already published a map showing the distribution of the sling in S. America. I have nothing to add to this which cannot be seen in the subjoined drawings (fig. 7).

The pellet-bow is rather common among the Chiriguano and also among the Chané. It is chiefly used by boys and youths. I wish here to make a few additions to what I have said about the pellet-bow in Part 1.

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In a weighty article E. von Rosen (3) has criticised my opinion that the pellet-bow was possibly brought from India to S. America by Portuguese sailors in post-Columbian times. He is quite correct in the statement that the thick part in the middle of the bow is not for strengthening but is merely for better grip. This holds concerning both the Asiatic pellet-bows and some of the American. This contrivance is practical but not indispensable. It is certainly not little toy-bows alone that have not got it. It is quite wanting on the pellet-bows of the Choroti, Ashluslay, Tapiete, Mataco and Yuracáre. Presuming that the pellet-bow in S. America is of Asiatic origin, it is evident that the Indians who first learnt the use of the pellet-bow

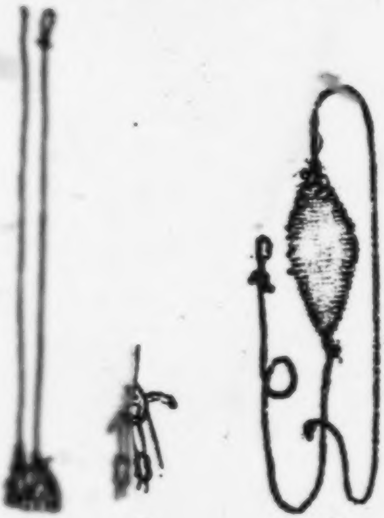

Fig. 7. Slings.

A Chané, Rio Parapiti. $^1/_{12}$. R. M. P. [illegible].
B Detail of A. $^1/_2$.
C Chiriguano. $^1/_5$. R. M. E. 168.

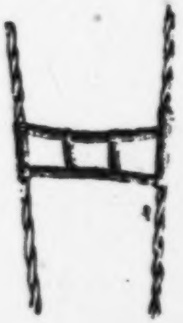

Fig. 8. Detail of pellet-bow. Rest for the pellet.

Chiriguano.

R. M. E. 591 $^1/_2$

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from the Portuguese have kept its Asiatic shape, while the tribes that received it later have made pellet-bows more like their usual bows.

Von Rosen puts forward the supposition that the S. American pellet-bow may be an imitation of the European crossbow. This is supported by the fact that the pellet-rests on some S. American pellet-bows (fig. 8) and the pellet-rests on some European crossbows are very similar. This similarity is extremely noteworthy. Still, I deem it unlikely that Indians should have hit on the use of pellet-bows because they had seen Portuguese crossbows — especially as I am not aware that the Portuguese in S. America used bullets for their crossbows. In any case the pellet-bow in S. America would be a post-Columbian culture-element.

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[192]

It is quite true that some Indians, e. g. the Choroti and Ashluslay have their own words for pellet-bow. But it is a common thing for some Indian tribes to have coined words to denote objects introduced by Europeans. On the other hand, it never happens that the Indians that still speak their own language lack native words for objects which are plainly pre-Columbian with them. It is therefore of primary importance for the settlement of the question as to whether the pellet-bow was introduced in post-Columbian times to note the fact that several tribes lack native words for the pellet-bow, calling it »bodoque«.[1])

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The Chané call it »boroque«. I am not acquainted with any Chiriguano name for it. A circumstance that speaks in favour of the pellet-bow being a post-Columbian culture-element is the fact that these bows are unknown in Peru, in Central America, and in Mexico, that is to say, in the cultural zones proper. There are not many of the elaborate culture-elements in S. America that have been unknown to

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[1]) From the Portuguese.

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the most civilized tribes and only known to the tribes east of the Andes. This applies especially to those cultural elements that are of little or no importance in the struggle for existence. The pellet-bow is the only weapon of any importance which, as far as is known, was unknown in all the seats of higher civilization in America. If the pellet-bow is an original American invention, it must have been invented by a comparatively uncivilized tribe.

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The pellet-bow is nowhere in S. America of any great importance as a hunting weapon. The heavy hand of necessity has never spurred the Indians into making an invention of this kind.

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Friederici has pointed out to me in a letter that in Martyr »De orbe novo» there is a statement about bows from the coast of Venezuela used by boys for shooting with pellets of clay or wax. This is plainly the same statement as Gomara's that I quoted in Part I. Martyr's statement is in the Eighth Decade. where he complains, that his memory was beginning to fail him. I believe there must be some misapprehension on Martyr's part, and that the pellets in question were arrows with thickened heads of wax or wood. Martyr cannot refer to pellets thrown by hand, as he plainly speaks of bows. It is not likely that wax pellets were used for clay pellet-bows, but, on the other hand, it is not at all unusual that arrows used in play should have thickened wax heads. Arrows of this kind have been brought from the Ijca in Colombia by Bolinder. The pellet-bow is mentioned neither by missionaries nor by any modern authors as occurring in Venezuela or any other part of northern S. America. It is extremely unlikely that this desirable toy weapon should have existed there at the beginning of the 15th century and then entirely vanished. Such an isolated occurrence would be most peculiar and unusual.

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The clubs (fig. 9) that I have seen among the Chiriguano and Chané have not always clearly defined heads like those of the Chorotí and Ashluslay.

C 226 who dwelt on the Upper Rio Bermejo beyond Centa. The Figure 14 shows us the construction of one of these dams. Nino[6]) speaks of a large kind of trap, the »pari», used by the Chiriguano. I have not come across any of them in my travels. The Caingang[7]) call big traps »pari», as do also the Apiacá[8]).

CC 226 I have seen the Chané at Rio Itiyuro fishing with calabashes and also employing the method of making dams.[9]) Fishing with calabashes proceeds as follows: A number of leafy boughs are stuck into the bottom of the stream to form a shadow and in front of each one of them a calabash containing sour ground maize offal from the chicha brewing is placed. The fish enter the calabash, which is emptied now and then by the women. I have not seen this method of fishing in any other place.

C CC 226 [171] The Chiriguano and Chané also fish with hooks which they now get from the Whites. They use neither floats nor sinkers.

C CC 226 171 Among present-day Indians I have seen an original fishhook from the Tambopata-Guarayo. That the fish-hook in S. America is of pre-Columbian origin is known by the numerous finds of fish-hooks on the coast of Peru and Chili made by Uhle and others. Among the Chiriguano the fish-hook is certainly also a pre-Columbian cultural element. This is apparent from the fact that they, as well as the Tupi Indians on the coast of Brazil, call the fish-hook »Pinda», which word is plainly identical with the Quichua or Incan name for fish-hook, »Pinta». From this it appears that *the Chiriguano and Chané probably learned the* C CC [171] *use of fish-hooks from the western region of civilization.*

C CC 226 171 It is also known that the first Conquistadores brought fish-hooks for barter, so it is most likely that many Indian

[text continues on p.46]

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[6]) P. 231.

[7]) Ambrosetti (1) P. 338.

[8]) Florence P. 276.

[9]) See Nordenskiöld (8 a) P. 171.

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191
tribes have learnt this method of fishing from the whites. As mentioned above, I consider the fish-hook I found among the Tambopata - Guarayo5) to be of original Indian type. Something similar is also mentioned by Figueroa from the Maimas6). Fish-hooks of bone occur among the Indians at the Rio Napo. The Uitoto use hooks of wood or palm-spikes.7) In rivers where the palometas (Serrasalmo) occurs, fishing with hooks of an inferior material is almost impossible, as these voracious fish bite through a hook with their sharp teeth as easily as they would a line.
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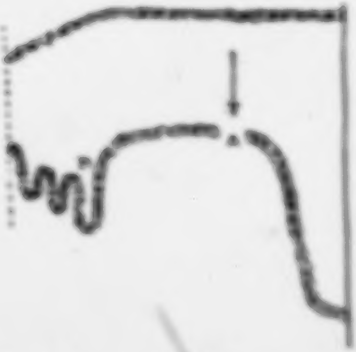

Fig. 14. Dam of stone from the Upper Rio Pilcomayo.
A — Entrance. B — Pocket where the fish are caught.

The Chiriguano on the Rio Pilcomayo use a wooden needle with a line to pull up fish that they have caught. Such needles are also known from the Choroti, Ashluslay, Toba, Mataco and Lengua.

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5) Cf. Fig. 13.
6) P. 208.
7) Whiffen P. 222. (See also Wallace P. 191.)

Nordenskiöld E-3,-1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chane SP8

VI.

Domestic Animals.

Apart from the dog, the Chiriguano and Chané keep only European domestic animals. There is now no genuinely Indian breed of dogs here. Cattle-breeding is of some importance in certain parts, especially in the Caipipendi valley. Milking the cows is not understood. Some of these Indians keep large numbers of sheep and the women spin the wool and weave woollen stuffs. It is not known if they had wool in the pre-Columbian period, as it has not been ascertained whether these Indians kept llamas or not. Poultry are of great importance to the Chiriguano and Chané. The Indians in South-America were exceedingly quick to learn the art of poultry-keeping, thus, when Cabot touched the south coast of Brazil in 1526, he got plenty of hens from the Indians by barter.¹) The Chiriguano and Chané have but few horses. They are not nearly such good equestrians as, for instance the Toba.

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[177]

I have in my collection a riding whip stock made by the Chané. Del Campana depicts a very primitive saddle from the Chiriguano. I have seen similar saddles among the Toba Indians.

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When these Indians acquired the European domestic animals, the chase must have lost in importance for them. They obtained their meat in another way. The possession of cattle compelled them to enclose their tilled ground, or to have it far removed from the pastures.

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[231]
[241]

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¹) Medina (2) T. 1. P. 438.

VII.

Tools.

C 412 [114] With the exception of bone awls the Chiriguano Indians of to-day have no genuinely Indian tools. Bone awls which I have already dealt with in part I very rarely occur among the Chiriguano. I omitted to mention this in the German edition of Part I.

VIII.

Fire-making.

C 372 Once only have I seen a Chiriguano Indian making fire by wood friction. He had forgotten his matches. Flint-and-steel are also seldom seen among these Indians now-a-days. In my collection there is a cotton-plaiting, in a wooden pocket from the Chiriguano. The Indians use such for tinder when striking fire with flint and steel. The idea of this was of course obtained from the Whites. C [177]

Ee [illegible] 231 Ce [illegible] [Bei]

Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A petapade of the same type from the Yuldmanan along the Rio Querarý is shown in an illustration by Koch-Grünberg.[1] I have not seen the shoulderblade petapade in any other tribe.

Ee 412 232 <171

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by St. Cricq[2] from the Coniba.

Ce 412 413 254 ● 177

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

C 415 177

Silver bowls — «Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

Ce 415 [437]

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Sta Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

Ce 372 137 <171

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have ser-

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[1] T. 2. P. 229.

[2] P. 287.

XI.

Dress.

The Chiriguano and the Chané men of the present day wear European clothes which they buy at the stores, get at the missions, or, more often still, when working at the sugar factories in northern Argentina. The native garments, the loin-cloth (chiripa) (fig. 19) and the poncho-shirt are still occasionally seen. The loin-cloth is a rectangular piece of cloth which is passed between the legs and kept in place back and front by being tucked into the belt. The geographical distribution of the loin-cloth in S. America it is almost useless to endeavour to show on the map, as in many places it would not be possible to say if it was native Indian or not. Among the tribes visited by me, with the exception of the Chiriguano and the Chané, I have only seen it among the Tapiete. I have a piece of cloth from the Tsirakua that may have been a chiripa. I found a doll in a mound in Mojos which most likely represents a man with a chiripa. That it is a very old cultural element is obvious from the fact that the curious mummies found by UHLE¹) at Arica and belonging to the oldest culture periods there, wore the chiripa. In the museum at Gothenburg²) we have a mummy of the kind, found by SKOTTSBERG at Arica, which wears a chiripa. This chiripa is not woven, but is netted.

Ec 291 U773

Ec 291 [illegible]

The Poncho-shirt which I dealt with in detail in the first part of this book is undoubtedly a cultural element which has come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the civilised area in the west. (See map 16 in Part I.)

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¹) (20)

²) G. M.

C CC 287 171

On very rare occasions one sees clothes of tanned skin worn by the men. As far back as Cardús¹) these skin clothes

CC [942] [302]

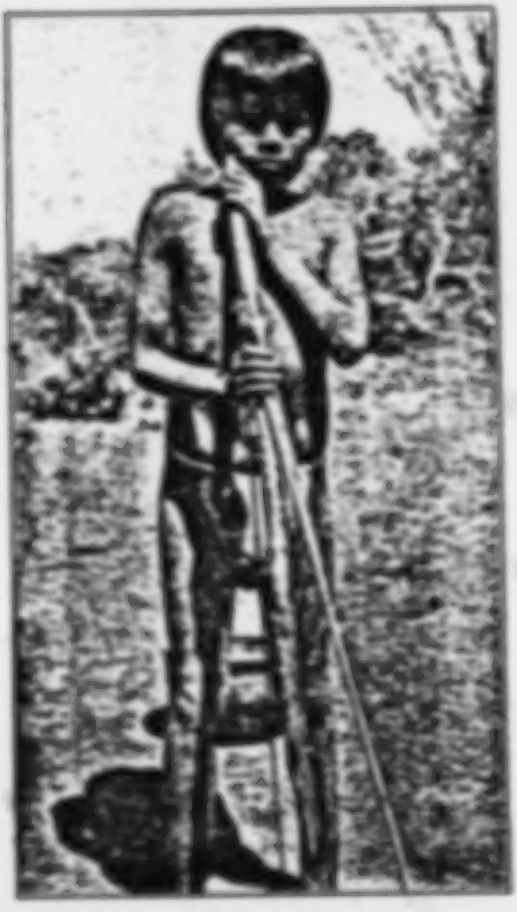

Fig. 19. Chaneboy in chiripa. Rio Parapiti.

C CC [177] [146]

were mentioned. I have obtained a costume of the kind consisting of a coat, breeches, and a hat. They are

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¹) P. 190.

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of European cut and have most certainly come from the Whites. According to Nino¹) they were also sometimes made by the Indians themselves. I do not think this is the case with the costume I have collected.

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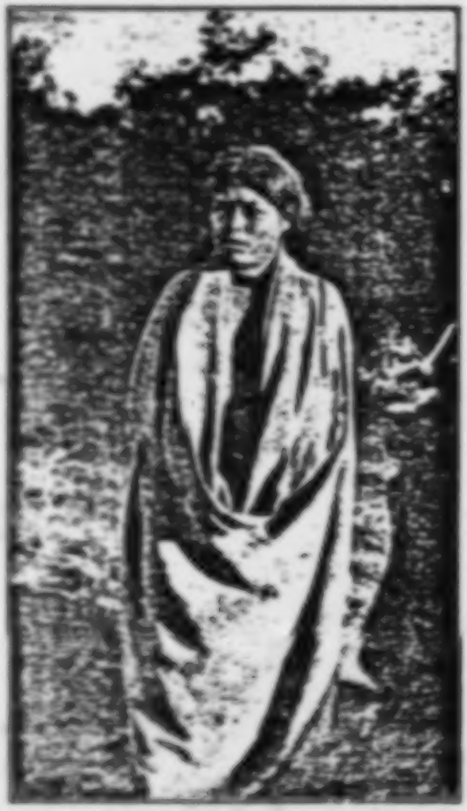

Fig. 20. Chanéwoman in Tipoy. Rio Parapiti.

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The «tipoy» is the typical dress of the Chiriguano and Chané women. It is a sack of cotton or wool open at both ends and woven without seam. The tipoy for every day wear is of normal length. (Fig. 21) On festive oc- ʊʊʊ

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¹) P. 189.

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilization in the west.

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A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by **Eric von Rosen**[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

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The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with coins, and are consequently imitations of the gorgeous cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. **Nino**[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called »bosa» (from the Spanish word »bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

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As already mentioned in Part I the woven »head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

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ce

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

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[1]) (4) Fig. 84, P. 127.

[2]) P. 191.

[3]) »Bolsa» is »bosa» in the Chriguano languages as these Indians do not pronounce l.

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The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembetá of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. Chomé[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

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I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chiriguano and Chané.

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Ce
[177]
[114]

It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for Schmidel writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — »Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó gris». Of what material this »canutillo» was, we are not informed. In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

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The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

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[1]) P. 331.

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any detailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 264. (2) P. 94. »Ihre weiber aber habenn ein kleins rörlein gemacht in denn lepzen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenn christallen stein stechenn.»

[4]) Medina (1) Fig. 77. From Freirina.

Formerly the chiefs wore ear-rings with pendants of green stones. Among these Indians the only women with pierced ears are a few of the younger ones who have learned from the Whites the custom of wearing ear-rings. These ornaments are also obtained from the Whites. Oddly enough, the barbarous custom of piercing the ear is thus here an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Neither men nor women pierce the nasal septum.

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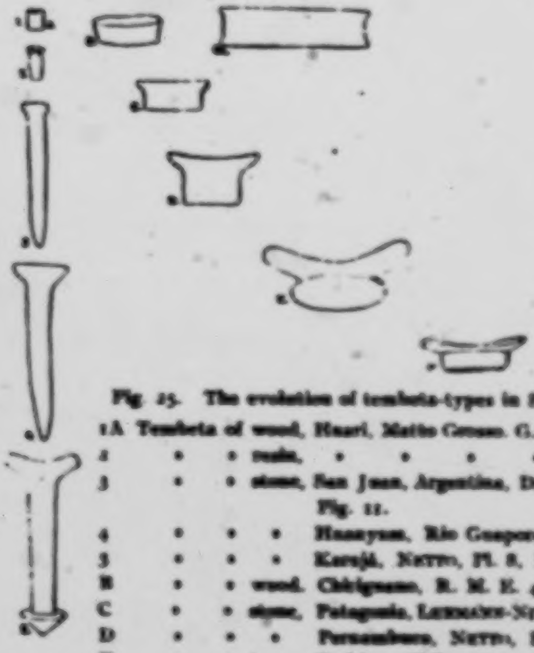

Fig. 25. The evolution of tembeta-types in S. America. 1/3

1A Tembeta of wood, Huari, Matto Grosso. G. M. 15. 1. 334.
2 " " resin, " " " " 16. 1. 290.
3 " " stone, San Juan, Argentina, Debenedetti, (4) Fig. 11.
4 " " " Huanyam, Rio Guaporé.
5 " " " Karajá, Netto, Pl. 8, Fig. 6.
B " " wood. Chiriguano, R. M. E. 470.
C " " stone, Patagonia, Lehmann-Nitsche (4). P. 286.
D " " " Pernambuco, Netto, Pl. 8, Fig. 4
E " " " Pitrén, Chile. Medina (1). Fig. 16.
F " " metal, hollowed at the front and filled with wax in which are fastened glass beads. Chiriguano. G. M. 13. 1. 349.
B1 " " wood, Suyá, Rio Xingú. Uhle (2) Fig. 34.

here. In order to do so, it would be necessary for me to have seen much more of S. American Indians than is the case. I will, however, here try to give the tribes I know a *certificate of cleanliness.* I mark the dirtiest, the Aymara, with o and Mojo, the cleanest, with 5. At the same time I will give them a certificate of orderliness, i. e. point out to what extent they keep their huts tidy and their belongings clean and neat. These 'certificates' are also of considerable interest as a means of understanding the cultural development and relations of the tribes.

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I consider that a distinction should be made between the Chané who live on the Rio Itiyuro and those living on the Rio Parapiti. The former are poorer and characteristically enough less cleanly than the latter. It is of a certain interest to see that skill in arts does not always go hand in hand with tidiness and cleanliness.

Ce
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184

The more or less high standard of Indian art, at least among present-day tribes in E. Bolivia, is dependent on whether they have been influenced to a greater or less degree by pre-Columbian civilization in western S. America.

C
Ce
[771]

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seen in the villages about the upper Rio Pilcomayo. When 302
the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is
the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is
wound round the head, «put up», and kept in place with
a frontlet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair
in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been
introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west.

C
The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. Ee
In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs 302
met with in the districts through which I have travelled. 442
The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are
sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is Ee
probably derived from the mountain civilization, as I have [177] ●
already pointed out in Part I.

The Chané have stick-combs, «Stäbchenkämme» Ce
and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. 442
These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in con- 171
tradistinction to the doublesided ones of the Choroti and
the Ashluslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb
is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy,
and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Chiriguano and Chané Ee
combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are [302] [301]
never worn as ornaments.

C
The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article cer- Ce
tainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized 302
zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for re- 442
moving hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually [177]
made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of
silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast orna- C
ments for the men, and are called «hoivéra». They have to Ce
a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply 301
used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been ham- 442
mered together so that they can no longer be used as pin- 177
cers.

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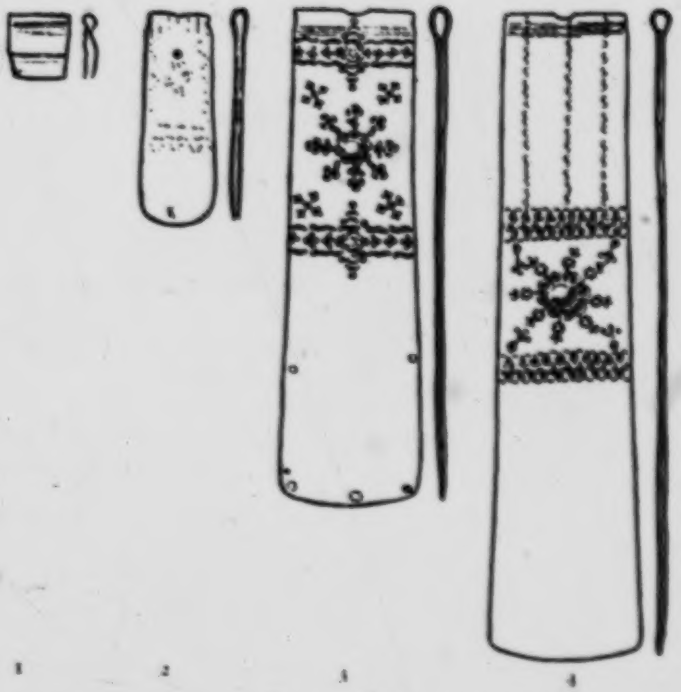

Fig. 26. 1/2.
1) Implement of tin for removing hair. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 396.
2) » » silver » » » also used as breast ornament. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 378.
3) Breast ornament of silver. » » 374
4) » » » » » » 370.

C
Ce
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Ce
[531]

cers. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.1) The shape is always Indian, but

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1) Nino is also of the opinion that the »bolvéra» is not of Indian make. P. 196.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

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[531]
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[174]
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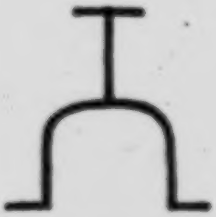

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ♀ Caipipendi. ¹/₁.

C
[531]
[304]

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

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[442]
[302]

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

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[304]

302 276 *171 ed with coca. The teeth of the Paez were also blackened by coca-chewing. Most likely this holds good of the Guajiro too. We ought, therefore, to distinguish between two regions, viz., one where the Indians get black teeth by chewing coca-leaves with lime, and another where they purposely stain their teeth blue or black. The latter must be renewed after a time. the former, which is the result of coca-chewing with lime, lasts for life.

302 174 *171 It is difficult to explain the geographical distribution of the custom of staining the teeth. Perhaps the unintentional staining of the teeth is the original one, and has given rise to the intentional staining. One might suppose that the Indians who saw the »nice», black teeth of the coca-chewers wanted to appropriate the fashion, though they were not coca-chewers themselves, and consequently they stained their teeth dark.

That coca-chewers in Cumaná considered it elegant to have black teeth is obvious from what MARTYR says: »They contemptuously call the Spaniards »women and children» because the latter like to have white teeth.» »Women» is not exactly a title of honour among Indians.

One might imagine that staining the teeth was once fashionable within the civilized area of the Andes and that the custom has lived on in the border land after it dropped out of fashion in the place from which it originated. Staining the teeth is not a Guarani custom, so it must have ● [177] been only when the Chiriguano Indians reached their present place of abode that they learnt the custom.

It may also be assumed that the coca used to be chewed with lime all over the old civilized western area. If this is so, we ought to be able to prove it archaeologically, but, as far as I know, none of the skulls found in Peru or Bolivia have had teeth blackened and destroyed by using lime with the coca.

It is, however, a striking fact that intentional blackening of the teeth does not occur far from the Andine region

XV.

Ornaments and Knick-knacks.

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Nowadays the Chiriguano and the Chané have but few personal adornaments. This is perhaps to a certain extent owing to their long intercourse with Whites. Feather-ornaments, pierced teeth, and such things are not seen. I have already described the »tsivira«. The embellishments on these silver ornaments, especially the Swastika are, I think, not genuine Indian. In South America I know of the Swastika on pottery from the Mizque valley[1]), from Tiahuanaco[2]) and from Ica[3]) and Cajamarca[4]) in Peru. An ornament which most certainly originates from the civilized mountain region is the »topu« or breast-pin, which is peculiar to this region. An embellished one of silver is shown here (fig. 29 a). It was most likely made by a Mestiz smith. Necklaces worn by Chiriguano and Chané women are most often of glass beads, but one now and then sees ornaments of pieces of shells, turquoise and, other green and blue stones, black seeds and coral. The stones are said originally to have been found in the ground, especially in the Tarija valley.

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A very rare ornament is the head-dress depicted here (fig. 28). It was formerly worn by Chiriguano women on festive occasions. Even if it is now made of a material which the Indians have had from the Whites, it is quite

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[1]) Nordenskiöld (10) Fig. 37.
[2]) Posnansky Fig. 30.
[3]) Max Schmidt (3) Fig. 10.
[4]) M. C. A. 176.

292 possible that the original idea was Indian and in that case
301 came from the civilized mountain region. The frontlet was
177 there a mark of distinction¹).

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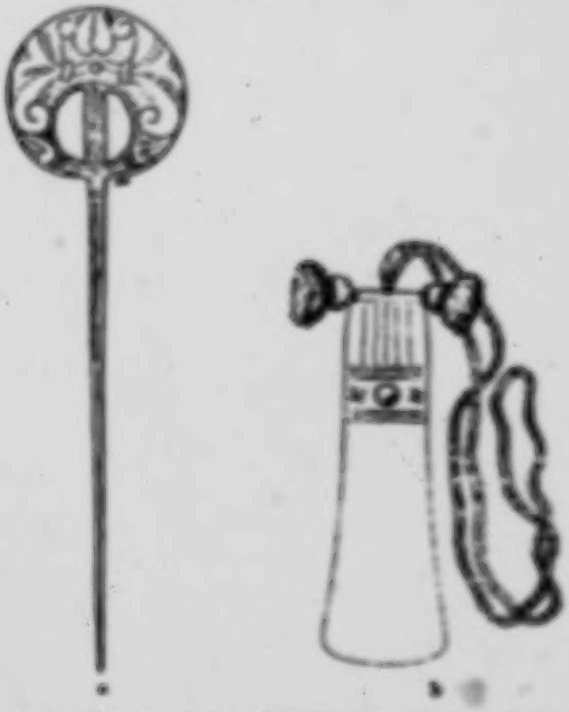

Fig. [illegible]. a. Silver pin used for fastening the «Tipoy». The shape Indian, embellishment Spanish. Chiriguano, Rio Parapiti. In Mr [illegible]'s private collection. ½.
b. Breast-plate of silver «[illegible]». Chiriguano, Caipipendi. In my private collection. ½.

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¹) «Algunas cuñas usan en esta circunstancia ceñir la cabeza con una especie de corona de color rojo, por detrás de la cual penden varios cordones que rematan en una borla. Este adorno, de que usan solo algunas y exclusivamente en el arete, no deja de darles cierta gracia.» Corrado P. 60.

XVIII.

Games.

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I have found a greater number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané than are known to any other tribes in S. America. In the first part of this book I pointed out that games of chance were known only in the west of S. America and that the «tsúka» or the «chunquanti» game is one that has come to the Indians in Chaco from the civilized area in the west. I also mentioned having found it among the Chiriguano and Chané. It is not necessary to repeat the description of the game here, as it occurs in Part I of this work.

The Chiriguano and Chané have another dice game called «inkaveta» which is played with a heap of sticks. These sticks are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other. It is played in the following manner.

First you place a stick (máma) so that it points towards the person who is to throw. We assume it has been placed with the convex side up. If two or more sticks fall crossed with the convex side up and without being touched above by any stick with the flat or concave side up, they go to the thrower. If the máma had been placed with the flat or concave side up, only the sticks with the flat or concave side up would have counted. The players throw alternately and each of them places the máma as he pleases. The one wins who gets most sticks. When only four sticks are

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1) With the exception of the chunquanti-game I here repeat the description of Chiriguano and Chané games so as to group them in one place, though I have given them before. There are already several descriptions, but as they are only in Swedish they are regarded by many explorers as non-existent.

c ce 524 left, no máma is put out and the players decide if the convex or flat (concave) side is to count.

c ce 524 ● 177 Other games of chance that are common here have most likely been borrowed from the Whites. »Tabá», the well known national game of the Gauchos, is played, the astragalus of a cow being thrown, and it depends on which side of the bone turns up whether you win or lose.

The European game of dice goes by the name of »daro», here from the Spanish »dado». The Chiriguano and Chané have dice of their own make. They are made of bone or burnt clay. In Tihüipa I wrote down the rules of this

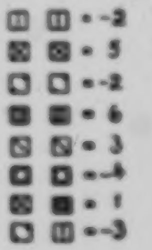

Fig. 31. Rules for the game of »daro». Chiriguano. Tihüipa.

game shown in Fig. 31. All other combinations are = 0. The first to get ten marks, has won. The marks are made on the ground. It is plain that these dice are an imitation of European dice. Those at the top of the illustration correspond to our one, the next to our five; then comes two, then six, then three and next four. They seem to have made their own rules for this game or else they are a re-hash of those of the Whites. There is no doubt that card playing has come from the Whites. The cards they use are bought in stores.

c ce 526 Of the games of skill occurring here I have in the first part of this book described in detail a bat and ball game (map 28) and a game with maize leaf balls (map 29).

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In no other tribe among whom I have travelled have I found any quite original game unknown to the Chiriguano or Chané. Very few are known from other parts of South America.

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I have already said that games of chance must have come to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized area of the west. Games with maize-leaf balls and india-rubber balls are northern culture-elements. Bat and ball games are southern culture-elements. Quoits-games most likely hail from the civilized parts of the west. I found discs that may have been used for such games at Caipipendi and also in the old settlements in the San Francisco valley in the province of Jujuy in Argentine. Quoits-games are common among the Quichua. — I cannot tell where the Indians here dealt with learned to play with marbles, or to play «nijépe» and «chinirabuahua» — I have found nothing about such games in the literature. The game of «miuki» may possibly be a northern culture element. Hand-darts like those used by the Chané are mentioned by Koch-Grünberg from southern Guiana In Bolinder's collection in the Gothenburg museum there is a hand-dart of the kind from the Chimila in Columbia.

The reason why we find such a number of games among the Chiriguano and Chané is that the latter tribe is an Arawak tribe and that they have been strongly influenced by western civilization. They know not only the Arawak games, but several games that were of importance in the civilized parts of the west.

XX.

Musical instruments.

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534 The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

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[177] When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

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[212] At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

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[192] A large drum is called by the Chiriguano anguaguasu, a ordinary drum angua or anguararai. Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar angua. The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 25 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

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Flutes of several kinds are found among the Chiriguano and Chané, and they are here depicted. They are always made of reeds and never of bone (fig. 56).

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Some of the Chiriguano and Chané flutes are not genuinely Indian. This is evidently the case with side-blown flutes with six carefully fitted holes. The like are not found among outlying tribes, nor, what is very important, have they been found in old excavations on the coast of Peru. No such flute is found among the 26 flutes depicted by Mead from the coast of Peru. Nor are flutes of this kind found among the Choroti and Ashluslay. All the old Peruvian flutes are blown from the end, and the holes seem to be placed very arbitrarily. I have in my collections side-blown flutes from the Yuracáre, Chimane, Itonama, Cavina, and Tapiete as well as from the Chiriguano and Chané. They are also found among the Caingua. Everywhere they have six holes.[1] They are never found among absolutely outlying tribes. End-blown flutes are undoubtedly pre-Columbian. All the flutes from the Peruvian coast described by Mead are end-blown flutes. Three of them are made of reed, one of a calabash, the others of bone. Various kinds of end-blown flutes are very widely distributed in S. America. I have such flutes from the Chiriguano, Chané, Mataco, Toba, Tapiete, Ashluslay, Choroti, Yuracáre, and Huari.

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[1] A flute of this kind is called by the Chané »pitu». Speaking of the Quichua musical instruments Cobo says (IV. P. 228) »Quena — quena es una caña sola como flauta para cantar endechas.» The Cavina call a dance at which they play with flutes and drums »huaia-pitu». (Nordenskiöld [1:1 P. 461].) Cardús, when mentioning the Quichua musical instruments, says that they, and especially the mestizoes, have their small flutes which they call »pitos»... (P. 258). I presume that the Chané took over from the mestizoes not only the side-blown flute but also its name »pitu» which the latter in their turn had obtained from the Quichua language. How the Quichua came to apply the word »pitu» to a musical instrument which was originally unknown to them, I do not know.

As I said in Part I the flutes in different parts of S. America are too little known for me to venture to express any opinion as to the source whence the Chiriguano and Chané get the end-blown flute. C Ce 534 171* 177

Both the Chiriguano and Chané possess trumpets made of cowhorn. From the former I also have an old trumpet made from a calabash (Fig. 37 B) which I acquired at Caipipendi. I do not know whether this was ever provided with a mouthpiece. The Chané Indians have on their cowhorns mouthpieces of reed with lips (See Fig. 50, Part I). I have not seen these mouthpieces among the Chiriguano; they blow the cowhorns from the end without a mouthpiece. Most likely the Indians learned from the Whites to use mouthpieces of the abovementioned type. C Ce 534 [237] P

Trumpets are very wide-spread in S. America, and it is interesting to notice the distribution of trumpets blown from the side and those blown from the end. The pre-Columbian date of the latter is certain, while that of the former is very doubtful. Map 20 indicates the distribution of these two types of trumpet. C C4 534 171*

Thus we see that side-blown trumpets occur especially in the basin of the *Amazon*,[1] in the region where negro influence has been and is very great, and I do not think it impossible that the Indians have learnt to use such trumpets from the negroes. When negro slaves were brought to S. America, they naturally introduced many African ideas. Runaway slaves frequently sought refuge among the Indians. In Matto Grosso, for instance, it is probable that negroes had been in touch with Indians who had not yet seen Whites. From these the Indians would be able to learn a good deal.

When making a trumpet of an antelope horn or the tusk of an elephant, it is quite natural to make a hole in the

[Map appears on p. 171]

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[1] From civilized Indians at [illegible] in Bolivia [illegible] mentions side-blown trumpets which, it is quite certain, were introduced by the Whites at a late date.

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174 tions — should have occurred within the Amazon basin, and not within the areas of civilization in the west and north-west, if it really were pre-Columbian.

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534 By means of far-reaching trade connections it is certain that European and, possibly, African ideas were spread far and wide at the beginning of the Conquest period. *Within a large part of America the continuity between the tribes was at that time, still undisturbed.* When the Whites had completed the conquest of all the great highways — the navigable rivers — trade among the Indians ceased or was at least diminished. The wide extent of inter-Indian trade already appears from the fact that the Indians of the upper Amazon in the seventeenth century obtained axes and knives of iron from Guiana[1]). This proves that Indian trade was carried on over immense distances. Thanks to this trade there were also spread, of course, many purely Indian ideas. Where large tracts are occupied by Indians, trade is still very lively, as in Guiana, along the upper Orinoco and in the Chaco. Only a short time ago Indians appear to have carried on a trade in weapons between Guiana and Rio Negro.[2])

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177 In what I have now said I do not consider that I have proved finally that the side-blown trumpet in S. America is an African culture-element. I have however demonstrated that is highly possible, and that the question deserves attention.

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177 The information I give below, which is based on the literature on the subject and on Museum specimens to which I have had access, indicates my knowledge of the occurrence of trumpets in S. America. Thus it verifies Map 20. The end-blown trumpet may have been obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the western area of civilization. In this case the original trumpets must have been of some

[text continues on p. 126]

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[1]) Manuel Rodriguez Lib. 2, Cap. XI, P. 132.
[2]) Koch-Grünberg (?).

C Ce 534 174 177

other material than the cowhorns introduced by the Whites, e.g. of calabashes, like the old trumpet from Caipipendi. Mouthpieces with lips were presumably, as I said, introduced by the Whites. Corrado[1] relates the following little episode which is significant as showing how the Indians learn the use of musical instruments from the Whites. «Á su vista se me ocurrió la idea de fabricarles un clarinete, lo que hice en pocos minutos con una caña tacuara, del que se arrancaron notas muy agudas parecidas á las que produce la dulzaina; lo que alegró tanto á la concurrencia que hasta los viejos me metían cañas por los ojos para que les hiciese gaitas, en cuya operación me pasé el resto de la tarde y parte de la noche.»

C Ce 539 171

The panpipe is very rare here. It consists of four reeds which I have not seen bound together. In the following table and in the accompanying map 11 I have endeavoured, on the basis of the investigations of Fritz Schmidt, some other writers, and of myself, to indicate the distribution of the panpipe in S. America. The map does not enlighten us as to whether the Chané got the panpipe from the area of civilization in the west, or if it came to them from Indians in N. E. Bolivia. The latter seems the likeliest supposition, as it only occurs within the northern part of the Chané country. It is not a culture-element from Guarani Indians. It is interesting to notice that the panpipe has by no means so great a distribution as it might have. In the Chaco there is abundance of material for panpipes, but they are unknown there. In the wealth of old literature dealing with the Indians on the coast of Brazil, I have found no hints of the panpipe. Oddly enough the panpipe is also unknown among the Indians of the Roraima region. Nor is the panpipe known to the Caingua Indians. Very possibly the distribution of the panpipe has been considerably extended in post-Columbian times. The well-known (prehi-

[1] P. 107

XXI.

Dancing Masks.

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A Chané Indian on the Rio Itiyuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. Padre Bernardino de Nino was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by Koch-Grünberg. This appears from Nino's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness¹) The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. Nino says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they call to mind the dead who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they burn the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

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[illegible]
[illegible]
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Batirayu, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

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¹) P. 226.

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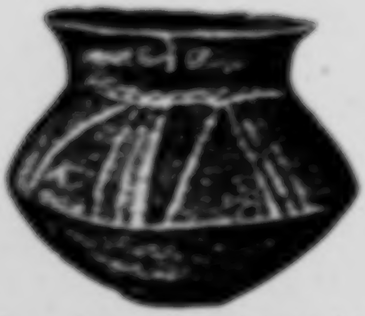

Fig. 58. Vessel for serving maize-beer from the Chané. Rio Parapiti. R. M. F. 313. 1/10

XXII.

Pottery.

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The earthenware vessels of the Chiriguano and Chané are made in the usual way by building up layers of strips of clay[1]). Stones, mussel-shells and empty corn-cobs are used for smoothing the vessels. The last mentioned leave characteristic marks. It looks as if some comb-shaped instrument had been employed. These marks diminish the smoothness of the vessel, so that it slips out of the hand less easily. Corn-cobs are therefore more especially used in the making of cooking-pots and large utensils. Judging by the pottery which I collected on my journeys, the practice of using corn-cobs in this way would seem to be derived from the mountain civilisation. I have seen vessels marked in this way found at Ojo de Agua in the most northern part of Argentina, where they revealed the fact that the Indians that used these vessels had maize. On the other hand, they are lacking on the pottery which I found in my excavations at Caipipendi and in the whole of N. E. Bolivia. They are also lacking in Misiones in Argentina.

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ce
● [159]

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[1]) See Part I

C
Ce
Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips on rims which here
415 seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.
*171 Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for
[252] steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized
C
Ce Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water.
[177] (Fig. 43,11). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting
Ce earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I,
323 endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of
Ce earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This
[187] is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — staragüirisi.

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

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[257]

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[1]) For this purpose brushes of Aguti hair are used. (See also WIENER p. 8[illegible].)

2/A [Erratum corrected. See errata sheet p. 245.]

C Ce 323

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

C Ce [184]

C Ce [386]

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

C Ce 323 177 ●

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

C Ce [181]

C ce 323 177 the ceramics of the tribes here dealt with. The ceramic art we find among the Chiriguano and Chané is, as we saw, strongly influenced by the culture-zone in the west. There is a great similarity, as I said, to the pottery that has been found in the Humahuaca Valley. It is especially the finely painted pottery which, in shape and ornamentation, recalls the pottery of the culture-zone in the west. The simple cooking-pots ornamented with finger-impressions more closely resemble what is found in the old Guarani territory in Misiones. The main difference is that the pots used by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with ears (handles), which as a rule are lacking in the pottery from Misiones. The ear, as I mentioned, is a western culture-element. I think the explanation may be, that when the Chiriguano conquered the districts they now occupy, their own women generally or always made earthenware with finger-impressed ornamentation. As we know, the immigrant Chiriguanos C [727] carried off masses of women, presumably from Chané for the most part, but probably also from other tribes. The women abducted from the parts bordering on the old kingdom of the Incas were no doubt skilful potters, and afterwards taught their art to their daughters. It is this that now continues in the finer pottery, especially in the vessels used at great drinking-bouts.

It is very evident, as we see, that the Chiriguano and Chané pottery has been strongly under the influence of the culture-area in the west. It would be of great interest to show how far it has also been influenced by the Arawak pottery at Mojos. This cannot, however, be conclusively proved. Not even among the Chané at Rio Parapiti can any such influence be traced. This is probably because it is so long since the Chané migrated to their present district.

It may be asked how it is that the Chané at Rio Para- Ce [184] piti have pottery which is plainly less influenced by the mountain civilization than that of the Chiriguano and the

Chané at Rio Itiyuro. This may be owing to their poverty.[1] Maize-beer does not flow so abundantly there as it does among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro. The finely painted vessels are intended for festivals, and it is especially on those occasions that one sees double pitchers and other types reminiscent of mountain-culture pottery. The Chané at Rio Parapiti dwell rather remotely, at a considerable distance from the culture-area in the west. Their calabashes, too, are more plainly ornamented than those of the Chiriguano and the other Chané. This may be due partly to poverty and partly to their isolated habitation.

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[1] I regret that I did not study the question of the supply in different places of good clay suitable, for earthenware. Where the clay has to be brought from afar, it is unlikely that the pottery will be highly developed.

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[114]

C
Ce
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Their spindles are of the Bakairi type with a knob. (See Part. I map 33). The spindle discs are sometimes of stone. The Chané at Rio Parapiti sometimes use when spinning a small earthen plate made for the purpose, on which the spindle is whirled.

The preparing of leather.

C
Ce
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The Choroti and Ashluslay have no knowledge of tanning, where as the Chiriguano, Chané, Toba and Tapiete have. They use the bark of Piptadenia and other trees.

These Indians have, in all likelihood, learnt the art of tanning from the Whites who, in these tracts, are more skilled in leatherwork than in any other trade. Tanning seems to be unknown to all Indians in S. America who are either untouched or but slightly influenced by White civilization.

The carving and ornamentation of calabashes.

C
Ce
415
322

The Chiriguano Indians, as well as the Chané make very great use of calabashes. They are used as receptacles for water and maize-beer; as boxes, humming-tops, bowls and, above all, as drinking-vessels. At festivals maize-beer is handed round in elaborately ornamented calabashes.

Sometimes the calabashes are provided with lids. These are so made that lid and box are of the same fruit. Now and then star-shaped lids occurs. Lids with a shutting arrangement of the type shown in Fig. 50 A are characteristic of these Indians.

I published in Part I a map showing the distribution of calabashes with lids. From this map we see that these are probably a culture-element which the Indians east of the Andes received from the western area of civilization.

I scarcely think, at any rate, that the star-shaped lids can be cut out so as to fit tight on the box, save with a metal tool. It could hardly be done with a stone or bone implement.

C 174

Ce 285 *171 C 162 285 X 3. Piaroa Rio Ventuari. Communication by letter from Prof. Koch-Grünberg.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

C Ce 285 531 Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 53 C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

C 325 304 The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané, before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

C Ce 324 The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

C Ce 322 412 ●177 For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

C Ce 286 Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing. (Fig. 55.2) and in the sketch of a band-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55.1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

C
Ce Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua.
286 Lehmann-Nitsche depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and
*171 I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. Cobo[3])
mentions their use by the Incas.

C The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané
Ce are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not
286 rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other
531 ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are
Ce said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman
[177] who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls
C are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to
797 embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and
871 the like, generally European ones, which interest the In-
531 dians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This
286 does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools
● 177 being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian
girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these
things once they have left school.

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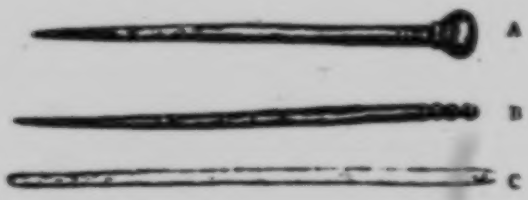

Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A = R. M. E. 48. 1/6. B = R. M. E. 146. 1/6. C = R. M. P. 21. 1/6.

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[1]) Pl. IV. C5.

[2]) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

[3]) «Van apretaindo y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... Cobo T. 4, p. 204. Cobo gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

XXIV

Trophies.

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We know from several writers[1] that the Chiriguano used to keep the heads of their beaten enemies as trophies According to what a Chané Indian named Batirayu told me, the Chané used to bring home the heads of slain enemies. At festivals these were put up on the »square» in the villages. Thanks to FRIEDERICI we have a fine work on scalping in America to which I beg to refer. It is, at present, impossible to say whence the Chiriguano and Chané obtained this custom.

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[1] See PASTELLS P. [illegible]; CORRADO P. [illegible]

XXV.

Property Marks.

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In part 1 (Map 34) I have already written about the geografic distribution of such marks. They belong to the cultural elements that these Indians probably got from the culture zone in the west.

staff was introduced at the missionary stations as a symbol of authority for chiefs. In the same way white men had introduced the staff as a symbol of authority among the Araucanians.[1] The half civilised Ijca[2] use the staff as a symbol of authority for medicinemen.

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According to Restrepo[3] the Chibcha chiefs had staffs of guayacán. Martius[4] tells us that the chief of the Tupi-Indians carried a tall staff »pocacaba«. He also tells us that Pombal in order to flatter conquered chiefs ordered Malacca canes with big knobs and tassels to be distributed among them. The Incas do not seem to have used the staff as a symbol of authority.

It is obvious from what I have said that the staff, as a symbol of authority, was introduced here by the Whites, while on the other hand the Chiriguano most likely got the »yandugua«, from the Incas. One of the Inca symbols of authority was a parasol of ostrich-feathers. Thus Betanzos[5] [6] tells us about Inca Urco, a son of Viracocha that he was borne in a litter on the shoulders of chiefs. When he went into the market-square, he sat on a golden stool and had a parasol made of ostrich-feathers dyed red.

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Dr. Max Uhle has been kind enough to inform me that he possesses a japanned wooden drinking-cup, possibly from Carabuco near Lago Titicaca. It dates from the period of conquest. On the cup is depicted an Inca with all his tokens of honour, down to the parasol.

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[1] Guevara, P. 27.
[2] Bolinder (4). P. 213.
[3] P. 99.
[4] (1). P. 84.
[5] P. 34.
[6] See also Markham P. 292.

Resumé.

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In the foregoing pages I have attempted to analyse the material culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, and have tried to show from where they have derived the cultural elements existent among them. Finally I will see to what extent conclusions can be drawn from what has been said above, as to the changes the material culture of these Indian tribes has undergone under the influence of an entirely strange culture — that of the Whites — and of a kindred culture — that of the bronze age in the west. Furthermore, we will see what the Chiriguano and Chané have kept of the culture they had before they migrated to the districts they now inhabit, in what measure they have adapted themselves to their new natural surroundings, and what they presumably have learnt from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco and Tapiete.

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I have shown in tabular form the cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané received from the Whites, those they received from the Mountain culture, and those that derive from the north and the east. This third table embraces such cultural elements as the Chiriguano and Chané took with them when they migrated to their present habitat. In the tables I have mentioned, as the reader will see, in the case of each cultural element whether its distribution in the region examined is favoured by natural surroundings, whether in its distribution it is in general independent of such surroundings, whether it is of great importance in the struggle for existence, whether its manufacture calls for technical skill, whether it is man's or woman's work, whether it is used by men or women or both, or only by children, whether it may be looked upon as still frequently used or as disappearing, and whether it can be regarded as a luxury or as a necessity. The tables thus reveal, for instance, whether these Indians have received chiefly articles of luxury from a certain source, whether what they received was mainly what women manufacture, and so forth.

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Among the Chiriguano and Chané we naturally find a number of cultural elements with regard to whose origin we are quite ignorant. Without doubt many of these have a large distribution, but it is simply unknown. Others again have a distribution of such a nature that it yields us no conclusions regarding their origin. The Chiriguano and Chané have no cultural elements of any importance that are not known from one or several other Indian tribes. There are, of course, minor peculiarities in shape and ornamentation that characterize all the belongings of these Indians when compared with similar articles from other tribes, but I know of no striking invention of any description to the sole credit of these tribes

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A. *The influence of the Whites on the culture of Chiriguano and Chané*

The cultural elements the Chiriguano and Chané certainly or presumably derived from the Whites, are given in the table 20. It includes such elements as they manufacture themselves, but are indebted to the Whites for the idea; cultivated plants and domestic animals which were not introduced among them until post-Columbian times.

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If we examine the table 20 we shall find that it embraces 31 cultural elements. It omits a few cultivated plants obtained by the Chiriguano and Chané from the Whites which are not, and never were, of any importance whatever, likewise a few domestic animals that are rarely seen. It includes three cultivated plants and four kinds of domestic animals. Of the remaining cultural elements, 17 are man's or boy's work, and only four woman's work. The majority

[text continues on p. 200]

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Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably derived from the Whites.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
[illegible] hat	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	+	—
Wooden boxes	+	—	/	+	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet bow	+	+	/		—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	+
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	+	—
Saddle	+	+	/	+	—
Tinder-boxes, striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	+	—	—
Leather girdle with pocket	+	+	/	—	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	+	—
Stirrups	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
«[illegible]»	+	+	/	+	—
Tabe game	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
([illegible] plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Flutes with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Brushes	+	+	/	+	—
Tanning	+	+	/	+	—
[illegible]	+	+	/	+	—

Nordenskiöld E-6,√ (1908-1909. 1913) 1920

SP10 Chiriguano SP15 ●

Chane SP8

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably derived from the Whites.

+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence

/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill	Man's work	Woman's work	Used by men	Used by women	Used only by children	Still frequently used	Luxury
+	+	+	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	—	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	—	—
/	/	/	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	/	/	—	+	—	+	+
+	/	/	+	—	—	—	+
—	—	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	?	?	+	—	—	—	+
—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
—	+	—	—	—	+	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	—	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	+
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+

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C CE 177 [191]

are chiefly used by the men. It is clear that the latter learnt more from the Whites than the women, for they came into contact with them to a far greater extent. Hence many of the men, but few of the women, learnt to speak Spanish.

C Ce 291 177

All the Chiriguano and Chané men now clothe themselves more or less like the Whites, that is to say in shirt and trousers. Few have coats. You rarely see anyone with boots, and never anyone with stockings. Practically all the Chiriguano and Chané women still wear the tipoy. It is usually made of cloth bought from the Whites. But in some villages the women still have a predominance of home-woven tipoys. The clothes worn by the men, and which are of the same cut as those of the Whites, are not their own make, but are obtained ready-made in exchange for manual labour. The cloth for the women's tipoys, too, which they make up themselves, is as a rule earned in similar wise by the men. The Indians now obtain the implements for all these things from the Whites.

C Ce 291 177

The agriculture of the Chiriguano and Chané has been very little affected by the Whites. As the banana cannot be cultivated here with any success, the Indians have not been able appreciably to improve their conditions of life by extensive planting of the cultivated plants introduced by the Whites. For some of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians, cattle-breeding has become of considerable importance.

C Ce 177 [233]

Seventeen of the cultural elements included in the tables may be regarded as articles of luxury. These are games, musical instruments, etc.

The domestic industry of these Indians has been very little influenced in its development by the Whites, a fact on which I laid stress in speaking of their pottery, which has remained in a wonderful manner untouched by 400 years of intercourse with missionaries and others. I here repeat that even the instruction given in the mission schools in embroidery, lace-making and the like, has but very slightly affected the native domestic industry of the Indians. A handicraft the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt from the Whites, is tanning. C CE 177

The dwelling-places of these two tribes have been greatly changed under the influence of the Whites. I have noticed the same phenomenon in several other tracts. The Yamaica, a small Peruvian tribe that I visited in 1904, a few years after its discovery, had already given up the old type of hut and built huts on the pattern of the houses of the Whites. The Huanyam, a small tribe near the Rio Guaporé in Brazil, which had not long been under the influence of the Whites (or more correctly, the negroes), now builds huts on the model of the houses they see at the rubber barracks. Several similar examples could be recorded. Everywhere it is the introduction of the white man's implements, so excellent in comparison with the stone axes, that has brought about the revolution. C CE 177 392

The negative influence of the Whites has of course been very great here. The primitive tools have disappeared, a number of implements and ornaments have become rare or have vanished, a quantity of domestic industry has become superfluous, since readymade things have been purchasable from the Whites. The Indian domestic industry is gradually disappearing, but is not transformed under the influence of the Whites. C CE 177

A race like the Chiriguano or Chané, when it falls under the influence of a culture, such as the Whites', which is very strange to them, very soon, as a rule, utilises for its own ends such elements as smooth for them the struggle for existence. We know, for instance, with what incredible rapidity the culture of the banana spread among the Indians soon after the Discovery of America, and that in many places it rapidly became one of their most important cultivated plants. And I have already mentioned that, a few years after its introduction, poultry-keeping spread far and wide among the Indians in S. Brazil.

In the matter of ornaments and adornments the Indian C CE [301]

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[illegible] is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

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[illegible] When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adopting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

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[illegible] In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the man's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc.

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[787] When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

The influence of the Mountain culture has extended considerably further east than the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané. In the First Part of this work I showed what a great influence this culture had on the Choroti, Ashluslay, Lengua, Mbayá, and other tribes. The Guarani-Tupi Indians in the most easterly part of S. America have even been influenced by it. The influence of the Mountain culture east of the Andes has probably been considerable not only under the Incas, but also at earlier epochs. But this is difficult to substantiate, with the paucity of distribution maps at present drawn up. I would ascribe to it certain cultural elements such as urn-burial and the shape of the labret among the Chiriguano. If this assumption is correct, these cultural elements must first have been conveyed eastward from the culture zone in the west, and then have been brought westward again by the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians. Both are here evidently original to Chiriguano and not to Chané. C Ce 177

The influence of the bronze age culture on tribes with a lower civilization must have been quite different from that of the Whites. And yet the culture of the more highly civilized Indians consisted of the same elements as that of the more primitive Indians. The Chané and Chiriguano have therefore not only learnt the use of a number of things from the bronze age culture, but have also learnt to make them themselves. Among these more primitive Indians domestic industry has evidently progressed under the influence of the Mountain culture, but is perishing under the influence of the Whites.

As I pointed out in Part 1, the bronze age culture in the west was a great attraction for the Indians east of the Andes. It was in order to pillage the rich districts in the west that the Chiriguano migrated to those parts at the beginning of the 16th century. It must have been in order to facilitate the establishment of intercourse with the opulent culture of the bronze age that the Arawaks (i. e., the C Ce 177 174

[text continues on p. 206]

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Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané [illegible]
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
[illegible]

	Chiriguano	Chané	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	[illegible]
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	+	+	/	+	[illegible]
Spade (Wooden)	+	—	/	—	
Bird-net	+	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Wooden bowl	+	+	/	—	
Wooden spoon	+	+	/	+	[illegible]
Corn	+	+	+	+	[illegible]
Poncho-shirt	+	+	+	+	+
Sandal	+	+	+	+	
Woven girdle	+	—	/	+	[illegible]
Frontlet	+	—	+	+	
Wooden comb	+	—	/	—	
Piercer	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tops	+	—	/	+	
Necklaces of green stones	+	—	/	/	[illegible]
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	[illegible]	—	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	+	—	/		—
Chunquanti-game		+	/	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chueca-ta- "		+	/		[illegible]
Quoits- "	+	—	/	+	
Long wooden whistle	—	+	/		—
Round " "	+	+	/	+	[illegible]
Drum		+	/	—	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	+	+	/		—
Double pitchers	+	—	[illegible]	+	+
Water-pitchers	+	+	[illegible]	+	+
Pitchers with a bulging neck	+		[illegible]		—
Calabashes with lids		+	/	+	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	+	+	+		+
Peruvian loom	+	—	/	+	[illegible]
Bodkin of bone	+	+	/	+	—
Property marks	+	—	/	[illegible]	—
Yandugua the parasol of ostrich feathers	+	—	/	/	—

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the culture zone in the west.
+ indicates occurrence. — indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

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Manufacture calls for technical skill	Man's work	Woman's work	Used by men	Used by women	Used only by children	Still frequently in use	Luxury
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	—	+	+	—	+	—
/	/	/	+	—	—	/	+
+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+
+	—	+	+	+	—	+	—
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+	+	—	+	+	—	+	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
—	/	/	—	+	—	/	—
—	/	/	+	+	—	/	+
+	/	/	+	—	—	—	+

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Chané) wandered south along the Andes to parts where no dense primeval forests hampered communications. This is always on the presumption that they were not forced southward by other tribes, which may possibly have been the case.

The question may naturally suggest itself, 'How was it possible for the Chiriguano, if they did not establish themselves in their present habitat until the beginning of the 16th century, to have learnt so much from the bronze age culture in the west, which began to decay a few years later?' They did not do so by direct intercourse with this culture, but learnt it from the original inhabitants of those districts, who were for a long time under the influence of that culture. The Chiriguano conquerors were presumably very few in number, compared with the original inhabitants, who most likely had long been under the influence of the bronze age culture. The conquerors adopted the culture of the original inhabitants, these the language of the conquerors.

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The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané is evidently an offshoot of the Mountain culture, their textile industry has been strongly influenced by it. The most important domestic industries of these Indians are woman's work, and it is probable that kidnapped women have here been the intermediary agents of culture. When the Chiriguano conquered the parts they now occupy, they did so, to a great extent at least, from the Chané.[1] They then kidnapped a great number of women from these Indians. After being admitted into the tribe, the women taught their skill to their offspring. Being culturally much above their husbands, they would no doubt have a great influence on them.

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[1] See Nordenskiöld (13).

C. *Cultural Elements which the Chané and Chiriguano have got from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes in the Gran Chaco.*

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The Chané and Chiriguano have presumably not learnt much from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco, and Tapiete, whose chief domestic industry is the caraguatá work, in which they have developed an astonishing skill. As we saw in Part I of this work, they have various different kinds of knitting, sewing, and plaiting. The Chiriguano and Chané, on the other hand, do very little caraguatá work, and the technique of their knitting is without much variety. I consider it likely that they learnt from the Chaco Indians the use of the bowstring made of shreds of hide, landing-nets of the type used here, the wooden needle with the line for stringing fish, the skin rug, the forked wooden spit, the use of the resin of palo santo for painting earthen vessels, and possibly the bat and ball game.

It is clear that more civilized Indians like the Chiriguano and Chané, when they come in contact with more primitive Indians, like the Mataco, Tapiete, and Choroti, do not imitate their ornaments, clothes, etc. I have already pointed this out in Part I. We must bear in mind that the Mataco sometimes work as servants for the Chané, and the Tapiete for the Chiriguano.[1]) These more cultured tribes would be more inclined to recognise the warlike Toba Indians as their likes.[2])

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[1]) Among the Chiriguano (it does not exist among the Chané) it is characteristically only a boys' game, whereas among the less civilized tribes, the Mataco, Choroti etc., it is indulged in by grown-up men.

[2]) Nordenskiöld (8).

D. *Northern and Eastern Cultural Elements that occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.*

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The Chiriguano and Chané have a number of cultural elements that clearly reveal their connection with their kinsmen in northern and eastern S. America. The area of their distribution stretches like a wedge from the more tropical northern Bolivia between the Andes and El Gran Chaco proper. Several of these cultural elements, moreover, have a distribution that induces us to assume that they reached the region examined with the Arawaks, i. e. the Chané. One such is, for instance, the india-rubber ball game. Several of them, such as the hammock and the seat, were familiar to both Chiriguano and Chané before they migrated to their present habitat. Those cultural elements that we may with more or less certainty assume to have been known to the Chiriguano or the Chané, or to both, at the time of their immigration, I have collocated in the table (22). Of course these Indians have several other cultural elements with a similar origin, though this cannot be proved from the material at our disposal.

In Table 22 there is scarcely any reference to clothing and adornments, owing to the fact that the Chiriguano and

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Chané have learnt much in this respect from the civilization of the bronze age and from the Whites. It is a characteristic trait for the Indian women to have clung to an older type of garment, — the tipoy.

Most of the cultural elements the Chané and Chiriguano have kept from the time of their migration to these parts, are useful articles, such as household furniture and fishing tackle. But some of these things are of minor importance here, since their existence is not necessitated by external conditiosn: they are evidently suited to other natural conditions than those that obtain in these parts.

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One can conceive that several of the cultural elements included in Table 22 did not reach the Chané and Chiri-

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guano until they had settled in their present territory, let us say by trade or other connections with the tribes living in N. E. Bolivia. I will not assert that this is impossible, but I am of opinion that it cannot apply to most of these cultural elements. In any case it does not apply to such cultural elements as rubber balls, certain kinds of basket work of palm-leaves, and hammocks, which clearly overstepped the natural confines as a result of emigration. The rubber for the balls must be procured from the north, and suitable palm-leaves for basket-work is not to be found locally. The hammock is not the kind of bed best suited to this part of the continent.

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Mandioca is now cultivated only as a rarity by the Chiriguano and Chané. It is highly probable that, before they settled in their present habitat, this plant was of considerable importance to them. Neither the Chiriguano nor the Chané depended so largely on maize before they came to the parts they now inhabit. Here they have an excellent soil for growing maize.

C
Ce
177
226

Fish and game are now certainly of less importance to these Indians than they used to be. I mentioned earlier that the Chiriguano and Chané now make the impression of fishermen without water to fish in. A method of fishing which is of no little importance to the kinsmen of these Indians, is fishing with poison. In these parts it is rare, but occurs, at least among the Chiriguano.

C
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824

»Chuchio» (*Gynerium* sp.) was formerly the plant that yielded at least the material for the arrows of the Chané Indians. As it has now been uprooted, its place is taken by another growth of grass, *Arundo donax*. It was not until post-Columbian times that this reed, which is used by the Chiriguano, Chané, and all the Chaco tribes for the shafts of their arrows and for other purposes, was introduced into S. America, where now, not least in El Gran Chaco, it has an exceedingly widespread distribution. (I ought to have pointed this out in the First Part of the pre-

[text continues on p. 212]

C
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177
462
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Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that, occur among the Chiriguano and Chane.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed	+	+	—	—	—
Seat	+	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urucu	+	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
» » (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	+	+	/	—	+
Round-Sieve, »Urupe«	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood	+	+	/	+	+
Fire fans of plaited palm leaves	[illegible]	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy«	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Souki-game	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Bakairi spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak« loom	+	+	/	+	+

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●
Chane SF8

Northern and Eastern Elements That *occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.*
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	+	+	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—
—	?	?	?	?	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—
—	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	[illegible]	—	+	—	+	—
+	—	[illegible]		+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	—	—	+
—	+	—	+	—	[illegible]	—	+
+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	/	/	—	—	—
+	+	—	/	+	—	—	—
+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—

C
Ce
105
177 ●
462
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C
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sent work.) It follows that these Indians used other material for their arrows in pre-Columbian days. The Choroti and Ashluslay probably had wooden shafts to their arrows, as Chuchio does not, and probably never did grow in their country. Before *Arundo donax* grew in the Chaco it must have been difficult in many places to find material for flutes, etc. Even in the country of the Chiriguano and Chané there were reeds only in certain parts, so that the introduction of *Arundo donax* may have been of importance for other things than the material for arrows.

C
Ce
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285

The difficulty of getting suitable material for basket-making has resulted in the baskets being of less importance to the Indians of the district under examination than to the Arawaks and Guarani-tribes elsewhere. Presumably the Chiriguano and Chané used to have carrying-baskets, which were supplanted by carrying-nets of Caraguatá or Yuchan.

C
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174
[343]
[515]

Pile-barns are probably a reminiscence from a time when the Chané lived in swampy parts.

I have already pointed out that the great cleanliness of the Chané and Chiriguano shows that they immigrated to their present habitat from warmer, well-watered parts.

C
Ce
177

There are not many cultural elements of which we can say with absolute certainty that they were brought by the Chiriguano, and not by the Chané. Such are, however, urn-burials and »tembeta» of the kind now in use. This is not precluded by the fact that these cultural elements were originally western. Finger-mark ornamention, the wooden mortar, and certain bird-arrows, spindles of the Bakaïri type with a little knob on the top of the stick, are also cultural elements with such a distribution that we can assume that they were originally more intimately connected with the Chiriguano than with the Chané. Further comparative investigations, and access to an extensive quantity of the necessary material will doubtless enable us, from a study of the minor details in the external form of

C
Ce
177

the various objects, to prove that some ideas are to be traced to the Chané, others to the Chiriguano.[1] For the purpose of such studies, we require access to the collections of all the great museums, and probably much more material.

There are of course among the Chiriguano and Chané many cultural elements of which we cannot say whence these Indians obtained them. These are such cultural elements of which the distribution is very imperfectly known, as well as some old ones whose distribution does not reveal from where they came originally. I do not consider it worth while tabulating all these cultural elements specially. They are mentioned in the foregoing, though occasionally only *en passant*.

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[1] This calls for a number of special studies of different cultural elements, such as Frödin's, and my own on the spindle.

/Pages 1-147 (Introduction and Chapters 1-8), Plates 1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation./ 020

/148/

Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

C
Ce

Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them. These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of dependence on the whites, and their old unique culture is disappearing more and more. 101 Ec Ce [177] ●

The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable extent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, but none among the Chané. C 177 797 Ce 797 Ce C

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a higher culture, people who are entirely different from the Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters. Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest. 101

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, indeed, without learning from each other, and this even though there are no natural boundaries here. Ce C 101 177

/170 cont./

Ce 173

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

Ce 523 Ce [276] [721]

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

c 523 123 126

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Ce 523 123 126

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

c Ce 523 178 c Ce [177]

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

Ce 721 c [721]

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

C
/173 cont./ Ce
Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and 342
Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians 177
are already building huts that are identical with theirs. C

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine 342
Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were 178
very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire [361
/174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These 592
evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in 171]
Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano
tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth
century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have
given up the original type of house and built smaller huts. C

Ce
In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more 343
maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are Ee
/175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps
a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived [361
in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, 174]
a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are C
built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw Ce
such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far 342
from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, 343
far from the dwellings. C

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place Ce
are swept daily and the refuse is burned. 364

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each Ee
house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from 592
the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman C
y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. [113]
Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

C
Ce
512
482
[177]

/180 cont./
the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads.

Division of Labor between the Sexes

C
Ce
462
171

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table:

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+ (3)	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons .	+	

C
Ce
[226]

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water.

C
Ce
[252]
[224]

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty.

Ce
[482]

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence

Ee

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Rio Parapiti are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country. 241 [226] [224] Ee [184]

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano: Ee 241

- Sweet potatoes.
- Maize.
- Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
- Calabash fruits.
- Beans of different varieties.
- Cotton.
- Urucú.
- Tobacco.
- Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
- Millet.
- Mandioca (rare).
- Reed for arrow shafts (on the Rio Parapiti). Ee

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking. [137] [177] Ee 276

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a Ee 276 171. 000

Chane SF 8
Pacaguara SF19

When I offered a

/182 cont./ Chacobo a P

cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth 276
for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Neverthe- 249
less, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. 757
If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatomya," under
his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder C
and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. Ce
The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For 276
them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These 171
contrasts are quite strange.

E
Ee
The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, 241
in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the
wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades [412]
made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these [177]
have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by
iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, C Ce
as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the [312]
fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere
in the vicinity of the plantings.

C
Ce
As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in 251
granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least 343
somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries
are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio
Pilcomayo.

E
Ee
The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which 241
are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of
the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted
is left to lie fallow.

C
Ce
The time of sowing is determined by the position of the [82]
Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early
in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season
begins, everything must be sowed.

Ce
The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, 241
women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley 462
the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger C
plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, [241]
beans, etc. [462]

SF 10

Chane SF8

C

/183 cont./ Ce

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps 224
in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons [410
consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; [223]
for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly C
used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the Ce
hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a [292]
European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This [177]

1. Viedma already mentions this costume,
p. 181.

E
Ee

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among 252
the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the e
house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys Ee
are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they 857
sometimes use clay-projectile bows. 223 411

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. Ce
In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a 224
red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten 231
by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing 789
to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against
rabies with the sign of the cross.

Ce

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are 224
not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before. 834

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers. E

In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do Ee 226
the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three [462]
methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

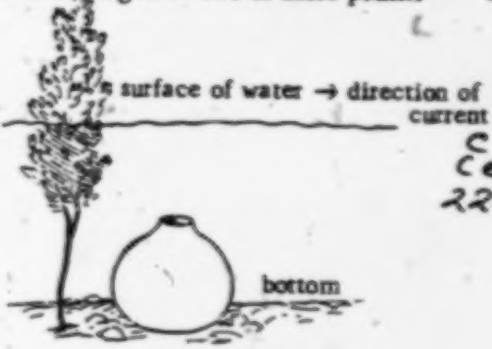
Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way. Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

/185 cont./

Another method of fishing often used in the aforementioned river is to dam up longish pools in the sand, in which fish gather. After the water is emptied out of the pools, the fish are caught. Sometimes the pond is made to terminate in a channel closed off with a scoop net /Ketscher/, from which the fish cannot escape. Ee 226 7 Ee

All the fishing that I saw on the Rio Itiyuro was done during the dry season, on hot, sunny days. [132]

On the upper Rio Pilcomayo the Chiriguano fish with fishhooks obtained from the whites, with nets similar to the dip nets of the Choroti, though smaller, and by shooting the fish with bow and arrow. The arrows used for fishing have two or more points. C 226 [177] [411] ●



C Ce 226

Fig. 90. Fishing with calabash.
Rio Itiyuro.

On the Rio Parapiti I saw Chané and Chiriguano fishing with a net of the type illustrated here (Fig. 91). In shooting fish, the Chiriguano there use arrows with many fine points. C [411]

In these last-named rivers the men always fish in deeper water with nets and with bow and arrow, whereas the women are content to catch small fish where the water is dammed when the river is half dry.

Not infrequently the Indians undertake long journeys in order to fish. Thus, the Chané sometimes during the /186/ dry season visit the swamps "Madrejones" in which the Rio Parapiti disappears. Ee 226 484 184 [133]

SF10
Chané SF8

/186 cont./ C Ce

It is strange that peoples who fish so much are acquainted with so little fishing gear. In my description of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we have already become familiar with this deficiency. 226

On the Rio Pilcomayo, Moberg and the author once wanted to give the Indians the benefit of our fishing experience and constructed a weir of which we were not a little proud. We set it out, firmly convinced that in the morning it would be full of fish. All we caught was wood and refuse of all sorts, and I cannot deny that the Indians ridiculed us a bit. Ee 226 123

The reason for the poverty of these Indians with regard to fishing gear is not a lack of ideas, but a different one. There are, quite simply, few fishing methods suitable for these waters. Setting out a net at night is not feasible, for if a palometa fish gets into the net it immediately cuts it in two with its knife-sharp teeth. Fishing with a hook where there are such fish is also not enticing, for they bite off the hooks as easily as the lines, if these are not made of good material. In these tropical waters the fishing gear also rots more quickly than among us and thus should not be left in the water all night. C Ce 226

The Chiriguano and Chané have no vessels. On the other hand, they are extraordinary waders, and to wade in the rivers here during the rainy period is not exactly a small matter. If, however, one has the assistance of one of these Indians, one can cross if it is possible at all. C Ce 484 501

As an oddity I might mention that during my entire journey I never saw a native white or mestizo fishing. In Bolivia it is not refined to eat fresh fish. On the Rio Pilcomayo /187/ the officers of the military post almost never ate the delicious, fresh, salmon-like fish from the river, but preferred canned salmon from Alaska. Since this is very old by the time it reaches Bolivia, it tastes dreadful. Fishing with a hook is also the only method of fishing that the Indians learned from the whites. 100 Ee [226] [177]

As for domestic animals, the dog is the only one that the Chiriguano and Chané did not get from the whites. These dogs now seem to me to have a strong mixture of foreign blood. They always have names, for example, tirupotchi (old garment), /Fig. 91 appears here/ chapikáyu (yellow eyebrows). As a rule, Ee 231 [177] [553]

/190 cont./

Games

Ea
524
[177]

Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now taba, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Daro," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tihuipa I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

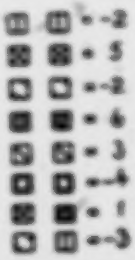


Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "daro." Chiriguano. Tihuipa.

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chúcarây," the Chané "chunquéati" (1).

Ea
[113]

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1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chané I did not see among any other Indians. They call it tacareta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 95).

First a stick (máma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the máma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

C
524

/197 cont./

I saw the "pagama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay sherds. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C
Ce
524

The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mou-mou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce
524

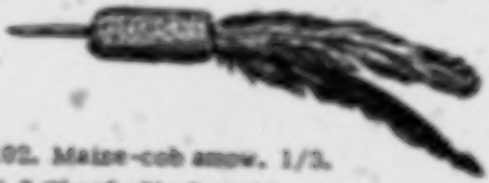

Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3.
"Sôuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

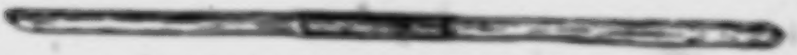

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Ee
[123]

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee
85
[797]
[177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

6: Nordenskiöld--02 S-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
S-Am. Indians S3
Chaco Indians SK4

E
6
Ca
524
526
171

/198 cont./

The games and toys are of great interest from the anthropo-geographical point of view./ We do not find the majority of them outside the Chaco and the adjacent regions of South America. On the other hand, we find them in North America. Consequently I have /199/ /Ill. 104 appears here/ /200/ come to the conclusion (1)

1. See also Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, 1910. Nos. 3 and 4.

that the games and toys are vestiges from a time when the cultural exchange between North and South America was greater than now, or, more correctly, that traces of a cultural stream coming from the north extended down as far as Argentina. A peculiar similarity also exists between the types of tobacco pipes that one finds in southern South America and in /Fig. 105 appears here/ North America. The striped pottery which I found in my excavations in eastern Bolivia, in Mojos, also points to influences from the north.

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Everyday Clothing

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In the villages in which the influence of the whites has not driven out the old attire, the Chané and Chiriguano women wear a sack-shaped garment, "tiru" (Fig. 106). This, as the photographs show, may be worn in various ways. In former times the tiru does not seem to have had its present shape. Viedma (2) says

2. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181.

the /201/ Chiriguano women merely had a piece of fabric around their hips. Undoubtedly, under the influence of the "moral" Christians, the costume developed so that it became "more decent." /Fig. 106 appears here./

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/201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

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[435]
Ce
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According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

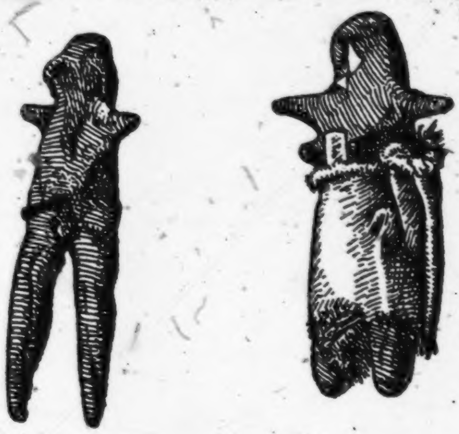

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

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The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

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The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

The
/203 cont./

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[177]

custom of cutting the hair short, however, is becoming more prevalent, in order to be just as elegant as the whites. When they travel over stony or thorny ground, they wear sandals on their feet, like the women.

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[142
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←

These Indians do not often paint themselves ordinarily. Sometimes one sees a woman who has painted her face red. The whites maintain that it means she is anxious to get married, or, if married, lascivious. I do not venture to say, however, that this is true. /Fig. 108 appears here./ The women also commonly paint a red line here or there on the face, or they simply paste a flower on each cheek. The men, too, sometimes paint the face and body red. As a great rarity I saw a couple of Chiriguano women who were tattooed on the arms (Fig. 108). In the Caipipendi valley the Chiriguano women have disgusting habit of blackening their otherwise white and sound teeth. Viedma says that the Chiriguano men were in the habit of painting their teeth blue.

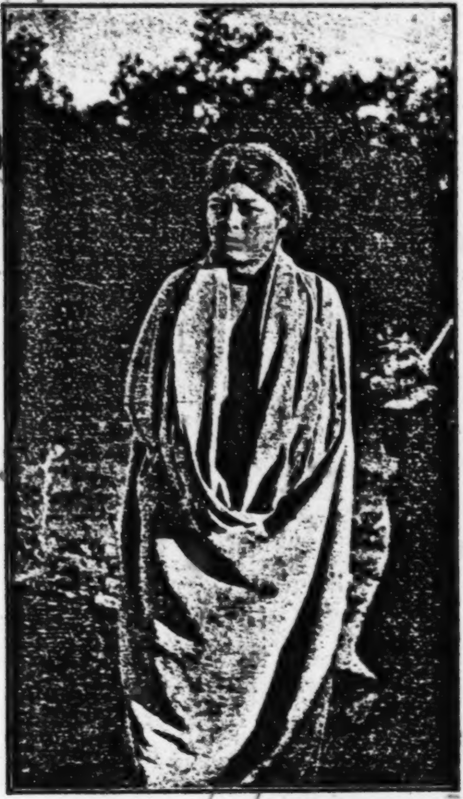

Fig. 106. Chané woman from the Rio Parapiti, clothed in "tiru."

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C /211 cont./
301/ Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The
178 Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has
[304] the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old
e ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does
[578] not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men
c the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano
[186] fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have
C Ce small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).
301/ Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and
177 pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among
C those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work
301/ has even managed to get into European museums, without ever
314 having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano
also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

C
[113] 1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

C
Ce
583 If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends
584 the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/
told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future
C mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.
Ce
584 The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in
178 the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

C
Ce
585 The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with
his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with
C no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The
Ce newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people
591 go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

C Ce 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

C Ce 582

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

C Ce [171]

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

C Ce 595

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

C [643] Ce [586]

C Ce 582

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 ● 177 797 831

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

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1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

C /215 cont./
165 President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-
1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than
C about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/
that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and
senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women
C mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
[114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian
men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C [145] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older,
[764] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become
blind in old age, less often deaf.

C e Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old
142 people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and
515 bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano.
These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old
people keep themselves nice and clean.

C e If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill,
756 the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds
C of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
e former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the
[754] spell and to bewitch.

C I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father
756 Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian
797 answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among
the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and
their influence.

C e In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of
756 Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.
● 177

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1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
●/177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter
bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it
C sounded like the croaking of a frog.

Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.

000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection
of the medicine men with the great spirits.

Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
[171] sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ce bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the
whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to
doubt their art.

Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use
the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for
conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer
for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.

Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance
with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This
is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh
urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose.
Ce The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
[515] method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

Ec /219 cont./
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[587]

If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

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If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

Ea
764
177

The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/

Chapter Thirteen

000

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

SF10

Chane SF8

/225 cont./

e Ce 834 171 — e Ce [514]

Nevertheless, if in the evening one sat beside the fire in the hut and was acquainted with the family, they seemed to be quite free and easy. The Choroti and Ashluslay men are very shameless. The men among the Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, less so. It is very common for the Chiriguano and Chané women, conversing in a group, to pass water standing up and to let the urine run down their legs, which may be regarded as less than clean. The men, on the other hand, always step aside in order to relieve themselves.

c Ce 833 171 834

/226/ As has been mentioned, the sexual act among the Ashluslay often takes place in the presence of onlookers. At the Choroti /Fig. 114 appears here/ dances one had to be careful in the darkness not to stumble over the loving couples. One never sees anything like that among the Chiriguano or Chané. Since many /227/ are lying in the same hut, however, one sees even among them what one always sees if one has overnight guests. This is not the least reason why the sexual life has no secrets even for small children.

c Ce 834 177 577

Apparently life with the whites heightens the sense of modesty. The Indian women are even embarrassed to expose their breasts. Morality declines in proportion as the sense of modesty grows.

This should be taken into consideration by all those who sew clothing for naked heathen children.

c Ce 121

Many of my readers may perhaps feel that this chapter should not have been included in my book. Nevertheless, it seems to me proper to say something about deviations in the sexual sphere. It contributes to an understanding of the people whom I am describing here. I have, of course, not been able to speak about all the realism that came out in the conversations around the camp fire (1).

1. If our daily papers, which are meant for the public, write about all kinds of things, one need not be too prudish in a travel account.

/230 cont./

Ee 622 643 554 The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [177] More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643 The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Ce 622 643 Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Ee [357] [177] Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. Ee 177 464 On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ce 622 643 431 123 When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

C Ce 565 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ce 622 701 642 643

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Ce 682

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 643 681 C 531 415 Ce 682

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

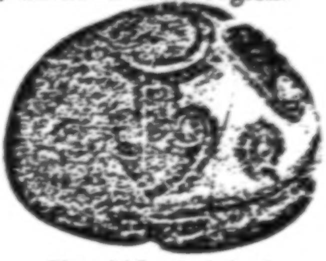
Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce 177

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

Ce 643 622 721

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

Ce 423 622 643

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

ce /232 cont./
423 even if it has lain fallow for years. Thus, fallow land is also
428 inherited.

ce Otherwise inheritance is considerably curtailed by the
422 fact that the deceased takes part of his treasures along with him
428 into the grave.

764 As among the Ashluslay and Choroti, the right of owner-
ce ship is well developed here too, and the women own what they
421 use and make. As among the aforementioned tribes, generosity is
171 very great here too, even though, thanks to our "civilization" and to
ce
425 the mission, it is less conspicuous.

177 Chiriguano social life -- we are not familiar with the
c original Chané social life -- was much more tightly organized
179 than the social life of the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano
648 were a conquering people who probably subjugated the Chané
and fought bravely and successfully against the Inca, and also
resisted the invasion of the whites for a long time. If, instead
of the /233/ many chiefs, there had been but a single one, the
conquest of the land of the Chiriguano would quite certainly have
cost the lives of twice as many whites as now. Unfortunately, in
the battles of the whites against the Indians, there were almost
always a few chiefs fighting on the side of the enemy against
their own tribes. In the last uprising, decided by the battle at
Curuyuqui, the whites had an auxiliary force of a couple of
thousand Indians, with whom they fought against the fellow-
E tribesmen of the latter.

Ca Just as everything changes in the life of the Indians when
177 the whites conquer their land, so also are social relations altered.
By the time Vocapoy, Maringay, Mandepora, and a few others
are lying in clay vessels under the huts, the end will have come;
then the Indians will have no laws other than those of the whites,
Ce no authorities other than the latter's administrators. The Chané
643 on the Rio Parapiti, as was said, no longer have a high chief.
177 Batirayu was offered this position, but he does not wish to be the
servant of the whites; he is too proud for that. "It is not as it was
in olden times," said Batirayu to the eccentric white man who
sought understanding and the confidence of the Indians.

Ee 531 177

/236 cont./

The younger generation, I fear, will prefer German porcelain and enamelware, and with that the Chiriguano and Chané art will become part of the many fine and beautiful things that will disappear before the brutal civilization of the white man. In many villages one is already obliged to rummage around in the corners of the huts if one wishes to find vessels painted with a sure hand and natural taste. The worst thing, however, is that the whites are beginning to take pleasure in the clay vessels of the Indians. This brings about mass production. For the whites everything is good enough, it need be neither beautiful nor well done. They do not want the tasteful and simple, but the garnish and strange, "curiosidades," as the Creole says. Our museums must beware of these curiosities, for they give a mistaken idea of what is truly Indian.

Ee 273

The women brew beer for the festival. This is supposed to be made with maize (preferably yellow or white), and only the poor Chané on the Rio Parapiti must often content themselves with beer made out of sweet potatoes. If algarroba is available, beer is also brewed from this fruit. "It is good and intoxicates so nicely," say the Indians.

Ee 527 261 433

/237/ If the maize harvest is abundant, there is joy in the villages; then there is food and drink in every hut. If the maize crop has failed, there is no joy, stomachs are empty, and it is quiet on the festival plaza. If the granaries are full of maize, the Indian is proud and does not care about whites, suppression, and trouble. If the barn is empty, he is subservient and morose.

Ee 273

After the women have fetched the maize from the granaries and the men have brought wood and the women water, /Fig. 117 appears here/ the brewing commences. First the maize is pounded in large mortars. Day and night one hears the busy women pounding. The pounded maize is sifted and then mixed with water in huge clay vessels and boiled. Then a portion is taken out, chewed, and mixed well with saliva. This is then poured into the rest and, after it has been strained, must ferment in large open vessels with a little heat. The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas

Ec
ce /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well.
Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for
the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured
into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone
must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred.
It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one
wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then
fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything
offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians
become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me:
"You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize
beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden
with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the
happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize
beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
[754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows
if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the
beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
c in these villages.

ce At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
c ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

ce
535 Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
532 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
●177 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).

541 Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177
535 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
co
[796] Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
177 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] [237] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

E It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[464] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians
who work for them are given a few
days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already
disappeared. Nevertheless one still
E sees women in home-woven clothing
Ce with necklaces of chrysocolla and
[178] turquoise. I never saw used, however,
E the silver diadem and the silver
412 pins which belong to the festive attire.
237 → One often sees the men's blue
costumes (Fig. 81) with silver
chest ornaments preserved in the
huts by the old people, but they
Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
533

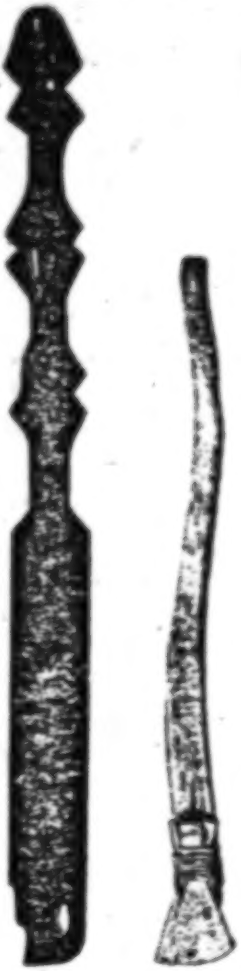

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

SF10
Chane SF8

Ce
527 /240 cont./
533 and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly
535 up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.
273 Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white
Ee man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many
291 old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay
177 scorns the rags of the whites.

e
ce Liquor is being introduced more and more among these
273 Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are
177 turning into crude drinking bouts.
527

c
532
535

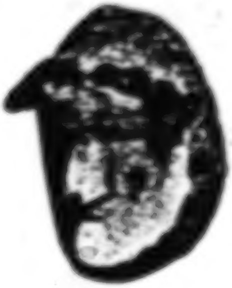

Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

ce
578 I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The
273 /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they
177 came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.

/242/

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Chapter Sixteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Art and Industry

C Ca 285 323 177 The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visits one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. C Ca One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, [271] the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is C Ca not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final 325 destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the 171 whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, 439 for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white 000 or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané [illegible] Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and C Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

534 171 291 413 Thus we find the serére pipe[2] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

19 appears here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

[2] [A flute-like musical instrument--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 94]

C /243 cont./
171 (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver remover,
291 of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive
[534] costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian
[413] cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not
C manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of
●177 the plateau by the Spanish.

e Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly
131 the Gũarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic
C tic of them.

Ce The material culture of the Chané
171 Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano.
Ce The Chané, on the other hand, who are
[323] more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we
C→ do not find again among the
[534] Chiriguano. If we compare the
531] remaining products of Chané
C and Chiriguano industry, we do
[184] not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

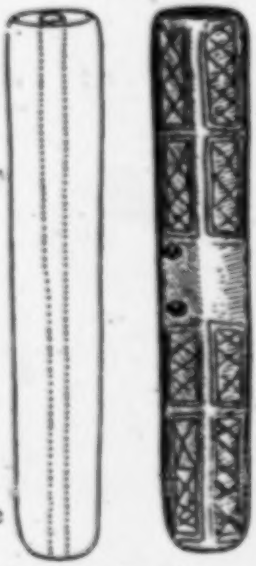

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

C For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe
323 valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are
184 occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

172 1. Boman: Antiquités de la
e Région Andine. Vols. 1-2.
[113] Paris, 1908.

Ce /245 cont./
323 The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are
531 decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them.
Ce The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/).
[237] /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are
[413]

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce
[386] painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment
is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and
Ce sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from
323 memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must
burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel
Ce is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

[314] If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin,
"taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with
[824] resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is
identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a
yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce
[789] When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled,
so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C
531 In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted
323 with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat.
386 I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers.
286 The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and
sometimes sheep wool.

Ee Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites,
[439] native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did
[177] not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and
native woven goods were very rare.

Ee As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without
286 ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the
531 missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of
[797] flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ee /247 cont./
531 The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the deco-
322 ration of calabashes (Fig. 128), carve attractive pipes (Fig.
221 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned
from the whites.
77c Among these Indians one does not see much in the way
Ce of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The
532 clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The
C Chané women on the Rio Parapiti fashioned lumpy little dolls
[126] out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay
[437] vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

Ce
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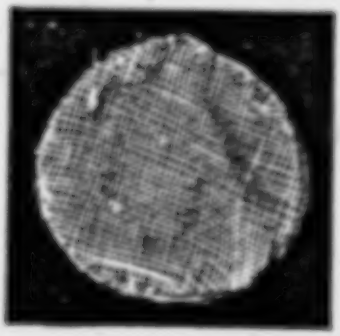

C
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Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapiti.
1/8.

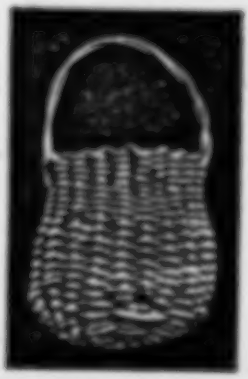

Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/8.

Ee
532 Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree
figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.
Ce I saw drawings representing human beings and animals
[353] on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano
Ce calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.
285 As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the
[439] whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond
the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and
Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities
only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin,
and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

SF10 ●
Chane SF 8

Ee /248 cont./
439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
● 177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they
have obtained many things from the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and
Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ee great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco
tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

171 If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
Ee with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here,
[285] we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané
produce basket work -- the
c Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ga The former know how to paint
[325] clay vessels before firing,
Ee which is unknown to the latter.
[286] The Chiriguano and Chané
never make bags out of
c
[415] →
[531]

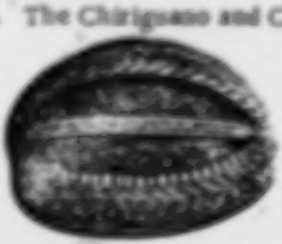

Fig. 128.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Tacuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products
made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti
and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
c [177] ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
things, such as the serére (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Figs.
36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ee but this is relatively insignificant.

177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for
hundreds of years without mingling.

Ee If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come
the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaqueanic /Chaco/
culture which embraces equally the Mataco, Toba, Choroti, and
Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay
Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

Ee
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/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who, in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee
177
177

Ee
[43]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1844, p. 212.

Ce
539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiquerítumpa.

Ce
[115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóyta.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquerítumpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yiag" (1).

Ce
[139]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [11 5] Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási on the Rio Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed 539 him to Dyóri, who devoured him.

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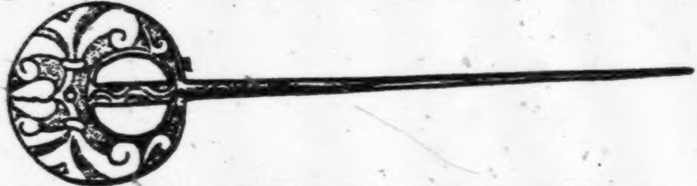

Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tiru. The form Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano. Parapiti, 1/3.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "Mbéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyóri asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what Mbéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyóri.

SF10
Chane SF8

C /295 cont./
821 The waxing and waning of the moon, according to
Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger
C or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.
821 The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during
●177 the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at
night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of
the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun.
Ec I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.
When a meteor, "baerēndi," falls, it means the death of
821 a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said:
784 "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more
[763] realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall,"
Ec said the old man.
821 /296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about.
[789] The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When
[825] the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the
Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If
[784] one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but
[484] dip up the water with a calabash; otherwise it will rain. In a
Ce myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the
821 Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water.
773 The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was
Ce destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant
821 role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing
[784] water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio
[825] Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

/297/

Chapter Eighteen

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On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

The Catholic Missions among the Chiriguano

Ec

177 Gradually all the Indians are bound to come under the influence of the whites. This is unavoidable. Day by day the areas in which they still live independently are diminishing. As soon as their territories have been conquered, they will be forced, in one way or another, to work for the whites and to become completely dependent on them. As a rule, they are also badly treated, exploited, and morally ruined. e

Ce 797 In this unfortunate situation it is therefore fortunate that there have been and are self-sacrificing human beings who have done something and are willing to do something to help the Indians. These persons are the missionaries. It cannot be denied that they have tried and succeeded in doing important civilizing work among them. Enthusiasm and a willingness for self-sacrifice are required in order to become a missionary. No one could, for his own pleasure, spend his whole life in regions where the solitude must be terrible in the long run and where life offers no diversions or enjoyments.

For the missionary, the work of religious conversion is the most important thing. He wants to save souls from hell, "tatahuasurenda" (1). Fortunately, the Catholic missionaries are wise enough to /298/ think a little about this life and to strive for improvement in the material conditions of life of the Indians.

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1. Tatahuasurenda = where the big fire is. Guarani word invented by the missionaries.

Ce
/298 cont./

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797
The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

Ce
797
When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C
797
When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ee
797
177
The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

C

Fear of the Rubber Regions

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In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce /301 cont./

648 Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to
[466] being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

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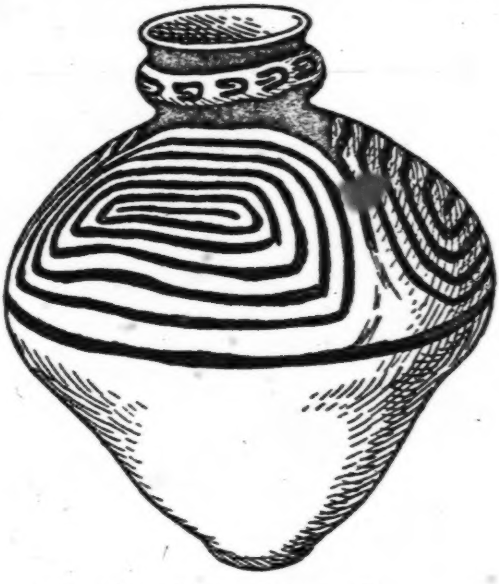

Fig. 133. Clay vessel. - 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

Ee

648 way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

Ee
648 /302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions
466 under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to
465 Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many
167 Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but for-
925 ever.

C
Ce If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the
648 Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst
273 evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference
177 between drinking maize beer and liquor.

SF10
Chane SF8

Ee
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/302 cont./

An Indian who has become intoxicated on native beverages is never as eager for quarrels and brawls as one who has tasted the infernal soup of the whites. Besides the fact that liquor damages the moral life and health of the Indians, it ruins them completely. I have seen with my own eyes how an Indian can give away his best cow for a keg of spirits.

Distilling for private consumption is still permitted in Bolivia. It should be forbidden, and likewise that anyone may sell alcohol any place he wishes.

Ee
648
177

The Bolivian military law that forces the Indian to perform military duty is quite unreasonable. It is very seldom enforced, to be sure, but when it is, and when the authorities come to get a young man for military service, he himself and all the other Indians of the region along with him are beside themselves with fright. One cannot demand that the Indians take part in the defense of the fatherland before they have the same rights as other citizens and know what their fatherland is.

It is unjust to demand that they should help to defend Bolivia, to defend the whites, who, according to their ideas, have stolen their land from them. The Chiriguano and Chané likewise love their country, but their fatherland is only the valleys and forests in which their fathers made clearings and their mothers painted clay vessels for the festivals.

Ee
[464]

During the period of development which Bolivia is now experiencing, /303/ it is important to make use of Indian labor even here in the land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians.

o-o-o

In spite of their unique culture, I have no great hopes for the future of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians. They will, however, become incorporated as an important element of the mestizo race, which in the future will be the sole rulers of the xerophytic forests of the Parapiti valley and the last spurs of the Andes toward El Gran Chaco.

Gradually they will probably forget their legends about Tatutunpa and Aguaratunpa and the other gods.

352
[114] been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks
[171] made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground.
Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do,
[513] however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of
353 considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly
415 array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize
[531] beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217
[352]→ —225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

[291]
[302]
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[415]
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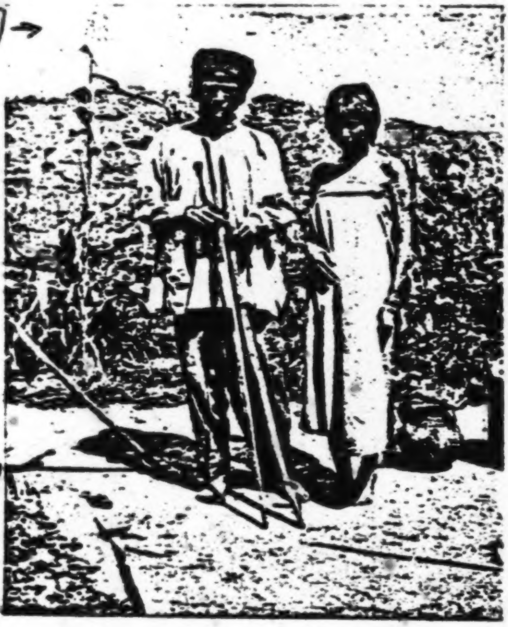

Fig. 194. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[237]
[824]
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354
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Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this im-
356 possible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

291 The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of
● [177] European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

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[1] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 163 and fig. 85 (12), pp. 15 and 26, and fig. 3.

[2] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 59.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chiriguanos (2).

Industries. Cultivated plants. Hunting. Fishing. Vessels for food and drink. Intoxicants and stimulants. Music and dancing. Social order. Customs governing marriages, childbearing, illnesses, death and burial. Character and temperament. Belief in metempsychosis.

The Chiriguano are mainly an agricultural people, but they also do a 241 [224]
certain amount of hunting and fishing. Maize is the most important of
their cultivated plants, and it is very extensively grown by them. Many [226]
other Indian domestic plants are also cultivated, viz. pumpkins, sweet
potatoes, beans, mani, cactus with edible fruit (Opuntia), tobacco, cotton,
uruku (Bixa orellana), and a reed plant (Arundo donax) for making arrow-
shafts. Of imported cultivated plants grown by the Chiriguano, I have [177]
seen melons, water melons, sugar cane and oranges. According to Nor-
denskiöld, they also grow figs and millet,[1] these latter of course also
having been introduced by the whites. Nowadays, European spades and [412]
hoes are used for loosening the soil. Among wild-growing food plants [177]
the algarrobo tree (Prosopis alba) is, to the Chiriguanos, the most im-
portant one. The Indians also prepare from the fruit of this tree an [273]
intoxicating drink to which they are much addicted.

The Chiriguano larder does not to any great extent depend on hunting 224
the game, but formerly hunting must certainly have been an important [178]
source of subsistence. Snaring is, nowadays, the only method of hunting
employed by the Chiriguano. Bow The long-bow, the pellet-bow, slings, bird-nets
and clubs are still occasionally used in hunting.

In olden times the Indians were good shots with the bow and arrow, 411
and, according to Lizarraga, they then used bows the height of a man.

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[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 23 and 24.

411 unsuited to wooden bows, although, on the other hand, it is useful in the case of built-up bows, and bows made of horn.[1]

411 For the purpose of fastening the string, the staves have been given 284 neck-shaped ends, one of which often is longer than the other (fig. 205, a and b). The string, which consists of twisted rawhide, is fastened to the shorter neck end with a knot (fig. 205, a), or a loop, then wound round the other neck end, in the way seen in fig. 205, b. When not in use, the string is slackened on the bow. When the bow is to be used, the stave is stood on the ground, for purchase, when it can be bent as much as is desired, and then the slip-knot (fig. 205, b) is pulled tight. When the bow is strung taut, the slip-knot is locked, so that, when unstringing the bow, one compresses it against the ground in order to slacken the string; the slip-knot is then easily loosened, and the string lengthened as required. When the bow is not being used for shooting, this way of treating it rests the stave, and tends to preserve its elasticity. In shooting, the bow is held with the string-wound part downwards (see figs. 201 and 202).

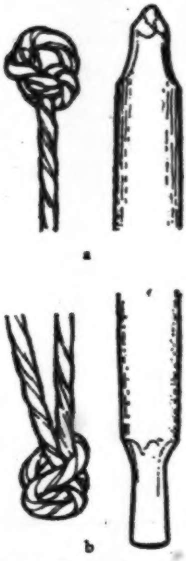

Fig. 205. String sites, and string-end loops of longbow shown in fig. 202. $^{3}/_{5}$.

411 The arrows are long, sometimes as long — or even longer — than the bows. As to their size, and other particulars, this may be seen from figs. 206—214, and the table on p. 211.

In the lancet-shaped heads of arrows of the types seen in figs. 206 and 207, the tang is pushed into a wooden arrow-head socket, the forepart of which is cleft. The rear end of the socket is fitted into the hollow fore end of the reed shaft. The socket is wound with string, so that its cleft part is kept tightly pressed against the tang, which latter often is smeared with beeswax, so as to make it stick firmly in the cleft. In order to give an increased firmness to the string-lashing, this is also heavily waxed, and so is the part of the socket that is fitted in the shaft. Iron arrow-heads [177] of this type have probably been copied from the lanceolate wooden arrow-heads that are still in use among the Chanés.[2]

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[1] Longman and Walrond (1), pp. 48—49.

[2] Vide arrow-head, fig. 6 A, Nordenskiöld (12).

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if the arrow had not been given such a blob-shaped head. The force with which this lumpy head strikes its object, is sufficient to kill a middling-sized bird, provided the range is not too wide. The projection is intended for penetrating the feathers of the bird, so that the arrow shall not glance off the smooth plumage if the arrow should strike the bird at too acute an angle. These lumpy-headed arrows do not, as a rule, pierce the skin of the animal hit, which may be of advantage in killing small game.

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The pellet-bow is also used by the Chiriguano. Whether it forms a constituent part of South American culture, or whether it has been introduced from India or Europe, is a question not conclusively settled. For my part I consider it probable that also in South America this weapon is an independent invention, but that the type (especially as regards its chambering) possibly may have been subjected to influence from the *European* pellet-throwing crossbow.[1] The fact of the pellet-bow being, apparently, of more common occurrence on the Chaco than elsewhere, may be explained from proximity to the Andes, and influence from Andean civilization. Within the area of ancient Peruvian culture, the stone sling was the most important distance weapon, and we may be quite sure that the nations then inhabiting the wooded spurs of the eastern Andes got to know the stone slings of the mountain folk. In forest regions, however, slings are unpractical weapons, as, in the whirling preliminary to the throw, they are apt to get caught in tree branches. The idea of using pebbles as projectiles instead of arrows, has however been adopted by the forest-dwelling tribes, who have tried to convert it into shooting with the bow. A stone that has been shot away does not need to be retrieved, but the loss of an arrow is always a serious matter! To my mind, it is in this manner that the pellet-bow of South America has originated. In districts where there are no stones, as for instance the greater part of the Chaco, clay pellets are used instead of stones.

As an argument in support of the view that the pellet-bow is not originally a South American weapon, it has been pointed out that it is not found in Peru, Central America, or Mexico. Its absence in Peru is easily explained, as this country is in its greater part almost entirely treeless, so that here the stone sling would be a weapon so infinitely superior to the pellet-bow that the use of the latter would be purpose-

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[1] For discussion of this matter, vide: Nordenskiöld (11), pp. 50—53. von Rosen (6), pp. 174—180. Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 26—30.

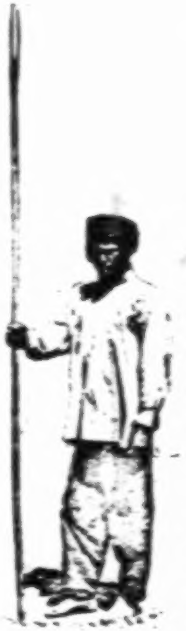

Fig. 215. A Chiriguano Indian with a fish spear. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

less. For the rest, the pellet-shooting long-bow is, compared with the pellet-shooting crossbow of the Old World, in any case a pretty poor weapon, both for war purposes and for hunting, which may explain its inconsiderable distribution even in well-wooded districts. Where this weapon nowadays occurs, it is only used for killing small birds, for target practice, and as a toy.

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Fishing is carried on in the water courses with which the country is sparingly supplied. The Indians use hooks, nets, fish traps and weirs. These fishing methods are, however, almost exclusively used for fishing in rivers or largish bodies of water. In shallow streams and rivulets, the fish are shot with arrows, or speared with a two-pronged fish-gig. Fishing with poison is also said to be made use of.[1]

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A fish trap consists of a large, bottle-shaped calabash, wide in its lower part, but with a narrow neck. The trap, which is placed under the lee of a few boughs stuck into the river bottom, must not be set in deeper water than makes it possible for a wading person to reach the neck of the calabash. Ground bait, consisting of crushed, sour, maize, is put into the calabash. The fish will then collect inside the calabash, and the fisherman has only to carefully raise the trap out of the water. In the sandy river banks ponds are dug, and connected by a small channel with the river. When fish have collected in the ponds, the connecting channel is blocked up, the pond emptied of water, and the fish gathered up.[2]

Among the Chiriguano Indians I visited, fish-shooting was a common practice. For this they used their smallest and weakest hunting bows. But it is also possible that those light bows I saw being used for shooting fish with, were exclusively employed for that purpose. If so, then the bow in fig. 202 is a fish bow. The arrows are long, and are usually provided with

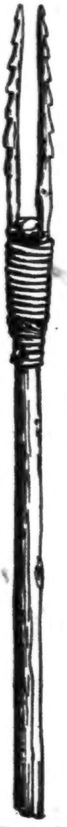

Fig. 216. Detail of the fish spear in fig. 215. The prongs are of hard wood. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. 1/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 904.

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[1] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 40.

[2] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 170 and 171.

Chane SF8
Izozo

C /3 cont./ Although
797 many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost
177 because of the influence of the missions, there have never-
178 theless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects
126 to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among
these Indians.

Ce The Izozó, having abandoned their homes in the regions
648 of the lower Parapití River during the Chaco War, had been
167 provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and
361 the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos
Ce abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they
241 had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, be-
311 cause of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant,
731 with the result that part of them had already returned to the
167 western region when I was in these forts. When I began my
[361] return from Machareti, a large part of them were near the fort
Ce of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the
162 Toledo military authorities, the number of Izozó who had
come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935,
reached 1,647 adults, 724 minors, and 122 small children,
a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in
Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only
503 adults, 141 minors, and 26 small children, most of them
having returned to the west by this time.

Ce These Izozó Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní
101 language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say
[197] that they are Guaraní and Paraguayans and that their name is
Ce Izozó. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological
101 literature and it does not appear in Moreno's work, Cuestión
114 de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/,
Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the enginerr
Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the
Ce Rio Grande and the Rio Parapití the name "Izozeños." The
101 Izozó near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region
[361] of the estuaries of the lower Parapití. Since these Indians re-
jected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

Chane SF8
Izozo

/3 cont./

Ce or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to
101 ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they
C can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya."
[101] If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called them-
Ce selves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the
101 latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region,
17 taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as
demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences
C might not be only local differences. In general the culture of
171 the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes
177 successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to
128 deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano
648 of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

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Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a
Ce cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the
[197] Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano
came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

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1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

/11 cont./

C. The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can
Gi ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous
175 documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so
178 important for their future fate and culture, during which they
167 emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in
178 this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that
[126] I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. As we have already said, the question of the influences on
Gi 177 Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland
174 Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

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[113] 43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

Guarani; SM4
Chane SF8

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/11 cont./

Gi little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most
177 important modifications in their culture from the influences
174 of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. We
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[177] know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

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128 In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

000 /12/

Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354.	Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335.	Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361.	Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359.	Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360.	Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362.	Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243.	Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244.	Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245.	Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

/12 cont./

C C C 149 [177] Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 224.

C 114 141 C [113] In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate, Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

C [113] 47. Anales del Museo de La Plata. Vol. I, No. 2. (Second Series). Buenos Aires. 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have C 166 been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of C [167] Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 30]

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. [563] [797] Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 ●177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses
of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial
ones, and they have probably passed through two different trans-
formations, one after the other, first under the influence of the
architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the
whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús
Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were
composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house
361 342 62 [113] as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la
tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief
Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata,
and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano
towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

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56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

/15 cont./

342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a *Guaraní* aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 ●177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/. Colección Angelis. Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (tenta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [199] [363] [177] [343] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

/16 cont./

342 A special feature of Chiriguano houses and where they differ from those of the common ranchos of white residents is that the two oblique sides of the roof descend almost to the ground, passing far beyond the wall. Machareti houses also show this special feature. (Cf. Fig. 16 /see p.41/.) The result of this roof construction is that the entrance (okye) is on
[285] the gable side. To shut the entrance they use reed mats or
[237] cowhides (65). Widely influenced by the whites, the Chiriguano
[177]

65. Métraux 1, p. 469.

and the Chané continually vary the style of their houses, and, according to Nordenskiöld (66), today many of them are already building houses identical with those of the whites.

66. Nord. 1, p. 173.

343 In addition to the houses used for dwellings, the Chiriguano and some of the Chané have houses built on posts for storehouses (avatió). Also in Machareti such houses were commonly found beside the dwellings. Figure 16 /see p. 41 / shows such a
[417] storehouse. A ladder, which consists of a post provided with notches, leads to the platform (on the right in the figure). These storehouses serve primarily as places to keep the maize crop and other produce. The space under the platform serves for storing various other things. Nordenskiöld saw such houses built on posts, whose upper part served in general for storage, while the lower part was utilized as a dwelling (67). Often those

67. Nord. 1, p. 175; Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouses are near the plantings far from the dwellings (68).

68. Nord. 1, p. 173.

As shown in Figure 16, the frame for these storehouses con-
[335] sists of ten vertical posts of different lengths, bifurcated at their upper ends to support the horizontal posts that form the base for

343 /17 cont./ How could it be that they adopted this from (177) the whites, because in those regions they have never used houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications (176) that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very unlikely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might have invented the construction of such houses, because the nature of their territory did not render such a form of construction necessary. 343 171 In South America we find houses built on posts almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the South American continent, and they appear to the south of the Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to Marban in 1676 (71), the Mojo had houses built on posts and doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chaparé River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

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(113) 71. Marban, Pedro: "Relatión de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/." Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1898, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld.

72. Nord. 2, p. 3.

/19 cont./

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As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

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As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

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85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I. pp. 364, 374-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

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/20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. (" " ") Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

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As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 24 F.

C /21 cont./

Ce 415 The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Stimulants

Ce 276 The Izozó whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. C 276 [126] I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them; neither have I seen them smoking.

C [126] Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 10.5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

C Ce 249 276 *According to Nordenskiöld*, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). C 276 This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, C [177] is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

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87. Nord. I, p. 182. Cf. Métraux I, p. 339.

88. Nord. I, p. 179. Fig. 88.

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/23 cont./

302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

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> 104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

> 105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

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With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

> 106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

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The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

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● [177]
[325]
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> 107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I. A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112), the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. C Ce [177] If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. Ce 301 The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

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Ce These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with
301 regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano
439 and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites.
These "*fajas*," as they are commonly called today, represent
an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact
with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear
C them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in
301 Figure 6 wears such a *faja* as a belt, and, because we can
291 surmise that today this is their principal use among the
178 Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following
chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

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Straw Hat (*kandáo* of the Chiriguano

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I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers
Ce is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9
[291] shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.
[177]

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

/30 cont./

Ce 291 177 The Chiriguano and Chané men whom I saw were dressed in the European manner, as, according to Nordenskiöld, is the common custom among them today (135). Yet many

C 290 177 Izozó men whom I met in Toledo did not have such complete European clothing. Several of them had no shirt, and various others, especially young men and boys, went about without trousers. But no doubt such a state was only temporary, a result of the exceptional condition of the Izozó transplanted

Ce 123 from their usual districts to Toledo. When I passed out clothing to these Indians in Toledo, all of those who were lacking garments presented themselves. On the following day this scarcity was more evident among those attracted by the donations made on the day previous. Most of the boys appeared trouserless then, because they had seen that those who had not had such an article of clothing had been favored on the day before.

C Ce 291 Of the native garments the men still use the one called "chiripá," the poncho, and the simple manta. According to Nordenskiöld (136), they sometimes still wear a "tirucumbai" shirt, which consists of a poncho whose two sides have been sewed together up to the arms.

The chiripá consists of a quadrangular piece of material which passes between the legs and whose two ends are stuffed, before and behind, into a belt. Worn in this way, the chiripá covers the genital organs. Figure 11 shows an Izozó boy dressed in such a chiripá. Nordenskiöld also shows a drawing of a Chané boy dressed in a chiripá (137). According to this author, the chiripá is also often used by the Chiriguano and Chané men when they are working.

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135. Nord. ?, p. 59.

136. Nord. ?, p. 59.

137. Nord. 1, Fig. 110.

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Of Chiriguano and Chané ornaments there have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters the hair ornaments, the tembetá, men's ornament in the form of hair-plucking tweezers, and the earrings now used by women. Among other ornaments the only important ones are the women's necklaces. Most of the women I photographed were provided with necklaces (mbo'ɨ) which consist exclusively of imported objects, such as glass beads, metal pendants, and similar things, and for this reason they have no ethnological importance. Nordenskiöld saw among these Indians necklaces made of beads of turquoise and "chrysocol" /chrysocolla/ and of black seeds (142). V. Rosen shows in a drawing such a Chiriguano necklace made of turquoise and glass beads (143). According to that author, these necklaces were sometimes also used by men (144). Silver pins for fastening the tipoys, in the form of those of the ancient Peruvians, can still be found also. But these too are not the product of an original industry, but are received from outside silversmiths (145).

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142. Nord. 1, p. 201. Nord. 2, p. 92.

143. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 198.

144. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 203.

145. Nord. 2, pp. 93 and 94.

c cc /35 cont./

526 174 177 According to these data concerning the region of spread of the game with a ball hit with the head, we must assume that the Chané, even before their subjugation by the Chiriguano, must have known this game, and that the Chiriguano of /36/ the Cordillera, like the Itatines-Guarayús, received it earlier from the Chané. c 526 [171] The Chiriguano also play the game with a ball made of maize leaves struck with the hand, which we know from many other South American Indians (159). According to Métraux, this game is not played except at the time when the maize is ripening, and it is related to the cultivation of maize.

With respect to other games of movement, the Chiriguano children play a game which corresponds to the game of polo and is very common among the Chaco tribes. c [171] The Chiriguano call it "taca." The ball is struck either, as among the Chorote and the Churupí, with curved sticks or with a primitive c [177] racket (160). No doubt the Chiriguano received this game from neighboring Chaco tribes.

Of the games of skill, only one is played by adults and ce [526] this only by women. It is a kind of bowling game that the Chiriguano in Tihuipa call "itarapóa" and the Chané of the Parapití "tecoróre" (161). The bowling pins in this game consist of two rows of maize kernels, two by two, one on top of the other, or on a cob. They throw with stone balls or with a hollow ball of baked clay with little pellets of the same material inside (162).

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159. Nord. 1, p. 168. Métraux 1, p. 44 and Fig. 11.

160. See Nord. 1, p. 193.

161. According to Nord. 1, p. 192.

162. Nord. 1, p. 192 and Fig. 99.

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The small sling I. A. 507, made out of a small forked stick, two strips of rubber obtained from an automobile tire, and leather, is not of native origin, nor is the rattle shown in Fig. 35a. /Plates XII-XIII appear here./

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/37/ The toy shown in Figure 36a, called mou-mou by the Chiriguano, is made of a small gourd disk with a toothed edge and a double string. The latter passes through two holes in the disk. By alternately twisting and stretching this string, a rapid rotation of the disk is produced, together with a humming noise. Among other Chané children's toys there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld a hoop with a rope, a musical instrument consisting of two bows (167), and a

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167. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. C and D.

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small musket. The Chiriguano children in the Caipipendi valley and those of the Chorote also play with such muskets (168).

168. Nord. 1, Fig. 23.

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Among the games of skill we must mention, finally, the string games, some of which are shown in sketches by Métraux, which a Chiriguano man made for him (169). The

169. Métraux I, pp. 443, 446. Plates 89 and 90.

Chiriguano children also know this game.

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There are two games of chance among the Chiriguano and the Chané. One, called "chúcaráy" by the Chiriguano and "chunquanty" by the Chané, is played with four small boards, and the other, called "asúcareta," with a large number of boards, concave on one side and convex on the other (170).

170. Nord. 1, p. 191 and Fig. 95.

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These Indians received two games of chance from the whites, the game of dice, which they call by the Spanish name "daro," and the game with a cow's leg bone, which they call "taba."

Agriculture

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I have already explained in the chapter on food and drink that the cultivation of maize as an agricultural product is common, and among the Chané of the Parapití the cultivation of the sweet potato. Mandioca is only cultivated rarely and has no importance in the economy of these Indians. Various species of beans are planted, also one species of cactus, some gourds which have edible fruits, and also a little tobacco.

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In addition to these edible or stimulating native plants that are cultivated, there are some others received from the whites, but these have little importance in the economy of these Indians. According to Nordenskiöld (171), they are the following: sugar cane, peanuts, watermelon, muskmelon, figs, oranges and millet, and Métraux also mentions the pepper among them (172).

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In addition to these edible or stimulating plants, there are cultivated various species of gourds whose fruits are not edible but are used to make containers, cotton for making thread, urucú for obtaining red dye, and, among the Indians of the Parapití, also a species of cane, Harundo Donax /Arundo donax/, which grows wild in great quantity on the banks of the Pilcomayo, but not on those of the Parapití River.

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171. Nord. 2, pp. 23 and 24.

172. Métraux 1, pp. 338 and 339.

/37 cont./

C Ce 241 The sort of agriculture which these Indians commonly practice is that which we can define with the term "el rozado" /the clearing/, which best corresponds to the technical German word "Waldrodung," which is used for this concept. A piece of woodland is cleared, and the land cultivated in this manner is planted as many times as possible until it is exhausted. According to Métraux (173), the place intended

C Ce [412]

173. Métraux 1, p. 334.

for planting is first cleared of underbrush, which is cut with a large stick edged on both sides, and this is burned on the site. Métraux /38/ has also compiled from the literature the respective statements on the method of planting maize (174).

174. Métraux 1, p. 337.

C Ce [412] [177] Almost all the implements used for this cultivation, such as spades and iron hoes, have been obtained from the whites. C 412 [177] The wooden spade, which the Chiriguano doubtless received from the culture of the ancient Peruvians and which was formerly universally used by them, is very rare today (175).

175. Nord. 1, p. 188. Métraux 1, pp. 335 and 336.

According to Nordenskiöld, these spades were made of a hard wood and had an artificially formed handle. Two such spade handles with a special handhold at the upper end are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and two similar ones by Métraux (176).

176. Nord. 1, Fig. 89. Métraux 1, p. 336, Figs. 3 and 4.

Ce 412 773 In the Chané legends written down by Nordenskiöld, there is also mentioned, in addition to the spade, the wooden punch, which is a very common agricultural implement among most

C /38 cont./
231 Because the ancient Peruvians raised various breeds of dogs, we
•177 can assume that the Chiriguano received the dog as a domestic
animal from the ancient Peruvians. We can assume the same
174 with regard to the duck, which was also raised by the ancient
C Peruvians. Therefore I do not include the duck among the
[114] domestic animals that these Indians received from the whites,
as Nordenskiöld does. We do not know whether the Chiriguano
in times past might have raised the llama. From the fact that
guanacos exist in the territory located between the Parapití
and the Rio Grande, we can deduce that the raising of that
other species of Euchenia might have been possible in that
country.

C The Chiriguano very early received such European domestic
[175] animals as the horse, the ass, the cow, sheep, goats,
[648] hogs, and chickens, which they captured in great quantities
in their continual raids on the Spanish settlers. In 16th century
documents there are repeated complaints about the extensive
C stealing of livestock by these Indians. Today the Chiriguano
Ce and Chané do not have many horses, and they have never had
497 the /39/ pronounced character of a nation of horsemen. The
41 true weapons of war were formerly a long bow and arrows which
648 were also long, which cannot be used by a mounted horseman,
361 in addition to which their homes were formerly in the hills in
c regions which the Spaniards could not enter on horseback. In
Ce certain parts of their territory the raising of cattle has some
231 importance (181). More general is the raising of sheep, pigs,
and chickens. Today one sometimes also finds among them
guinea hens and turkeys (182).

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181. See Métraux I, p. 340.

182. Nord. 1, p. 137.

C 411 177 /43 cont./ The Chiriguano in contact with the Quichua /Quechua/ also use another type of sling made of wool (200).

200. Métraux 1, p. 342 and Plate VII.

C 224 [411] According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano also formerly used the bola, called "churima," by them, for hunting the ostrich (201).

201. Nord. 1, p. 183.

C [231] We must still mention that the Chiriguano train their dogs for hunting, especially for hunting pigs (202).

202. Nord. 2, p. 31. Métraux 1, p. 346.

Fishing

C 433 226 Because, as I have already mentioned, there is no opportunity for fishing in any part of the Chiriguano territory and also the large rivers which are in their territory, except for the upper Pilcomayo River, do not offer any fish other than very small ones, fishing has only secondary importance in the economy of most of the Chiriguano, although they utilize every chance they have to fish.

C 227 Among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any fishing equipment outside of the small arrows with wire points, which are occasionally used for fishing. But among the Izozó I acquired such a piece of equipment, which consists of a net bag that is closed at the top with two sticks of cane attached to the upper edge. (Cf. Figure 39.) CE 126 227

/44 cont./

175 316 648 [167] Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals
301 in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments
● 177 made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except
439 for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

316 Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

263 317 [439] While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

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213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

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Among these vessels we must distinguish two different principal types. The vessels of the first type have the globular form of the belly, a narrowed part at the neck, a relatively small aperture, a flat bottom, and a vertical handle placed on the upper rim and coming down to the upper part of the belly. See Figs. 74 /see p.133/ and 82 /see p.144 /. The second type, whose form was no doubt received from the whites, differs from the first primarily in that its aperture has a spout like modern vessels: See Figs. 64 and 65 /see p.130/. Vessels of this type also have a handle that, placed at the upper rim, comes down to the upper part of the belly.

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In addition to these vessels I found one among the Chiriguano which corresponds in form to vessel I. A. 382, already mentioned among the vessels for carrying water. Like that one, it has a narrow, cylindrical neck that can easily be encompassed by the hand and has no handle. Because its surface has designs, I have included it among the vessels intended for serving chicha.

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7. Vessels Intended for Drinking Liquids, from the Collection

I. A. 602	Izozó	Ht.	10 cm.	Max. dia.	12.5 cm.	Apert.	10 cm. (Fig. 70b)
I. A. 603	"	"	8 cm.	" "	9 cm.	"	6 cm.
I. A. 610	"	"	8 cm.	" "	10.5 cm.	"	8.5 cm.
I. A. 611	"	"	9 cm.	" "	11.5 cm.	"	8 cm.

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Among the vessels collected among the Izozó there are four in the shape of cups. From the types of vessels shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld (227), it is learned that similar cups

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are used by the Chané on the Itiyuru and by the Chiriguano. We must assume that the form of these cups is the result of the influence of European styles. These vessels have a globular

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227. Nord. 2, Fig. 40, N. 26; Fig. 42, N. 22 and 23; Fig. 44, N. 19-21.

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415 /53 cont./
described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

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13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).
I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).
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I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).
I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

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We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p. 144/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

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Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

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The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

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323 824 386 paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144. Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Ee

Working of Stone and Metals

324 The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to Ee 325 301 439 •177 41 the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

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Woodworking

322 [411] Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. C [177] [178] Because the Chiriguano, when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools obtained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXIII-XXV appear here./

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Izozo

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Brazil/. Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

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The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

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263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

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The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I. A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

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C 285 177 /62 cont./

The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

C CE 285 178 Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical forms of the products of those techniques. C 285 171 The making of this type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with respect to the conformity of the work. C 285 In my above-mentioned publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket. C CE 285 Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

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C [113] 265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

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way serving as parts of the walls of the basket, the latter then being completed by plaiting the free ends of the strips with one another. By this device they manage to obtain a sufficient number of strips to form the walls of the basket. The Chiriguano and Chané of today are ignorant of this device and therefore they cannot make exact baskets of this kind. We do not know whether they gradually forgot the devices of their primordial plaiting technique under the influence of imported crafts or through the introduction of new ideas, or whether they may have imitated forms of baskets which they saw among other tribes of Indians without knowing the devices of the technique.

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The bottoms and thus the rudiments of the two baskets I.A. 678 and 721a, shown in Figures 86a and 96b, are formed in a manner completely different from the bottoms of the two baskets described above. In making these baskets the Indians have availed themselves of the experience which they have had in the manufacture of the modern hat described above. Beginning the plaiting of these two baskets in the center of the bottom exactly corresponds to the beginning of making the hat, outside of the fact that the strips of the baskets, consisting of caranday palm leaflets, are wider and therefore the mesh is much larger. Where the side walls of the basket begin and more strips are needed than for the bottom, other strips are added, but, in contrast to the manufacture of the hat, by means of a kind of plaiting that joins the free ends of the original strips with the additional strips so that all together they are used to weave the sides of the basket. Also, the analogous baskets of the Chiriguano of the Caipipendi valley described and shown in drawings by Métraux seem to be strongly influenced by modern techniques (266).

266. Métraux, I, pp. 434-457, Plates 58-61.

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One type completely different from the baskets described above is shown in the Izozó baskets I.A. 679-686. The plaiting of these does not begin at the bottom like the plaiting of the other baskets, but at the upper edge, and it ends with the making of the bottom. I have minutely described this type of

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In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Nordenskiöld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (272). No doubt this kind

272. Nord. 7, Fig. 55, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

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For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

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Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoys. I.A. 830, 832, and 838 (Izoceño) (I.A. 830, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I.A. 433-437 (Chiriguano) (I.A. 436, Fig. 118).
   I.A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 822-825, 830, 831, 833-836 (Izoceño) (I.A. 823, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I.A. 585 (Chiriguano).
   I.A. 816-818, 825-829 (Izoceño) (I.A. 818, Fig. 120).

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4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I.A. 650-660 (Izoceño) (I.A. 652, Figs. 30b and 108; I.A. 656, Figs. 30c and 109; I.A. 658, Figs. 30d and 110; I.A. 660, Figs. 30a and 107).

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

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5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I.A. 720 and 765 (Izoceño) (I.A. 720, Figs. 31 and 111).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 180]

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415 287 286 of weaving are not secured by the weaving process itself. In order to change the piece of weaving described in the foregoing into the double bag, its two ends are folded over at the dotted lines in the diagram, with the result that points A, B, C, and D are placed on top of points A/, B/, C/, and D/. Then the edges which are placed one on top of the other (OA/, QB/, PD/, and RC/) /71/ are sewed together. The parts EILG and FKMH are doubled in the opposite direction to form the tops of the double bag.

C Ce 286 531 177 In accordance with the simple mechanism of the loom with which the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó make their textiles, the possibilities of producing variations in the ornamentation of these are very limited. The variations in ornamentation of the weavings of the Chaco tribes, such as, in particular, those of the Churupí /Chulupi/, which consist of frets, zigzags, rhombuses, and many other figures, are not found among the ornamentations of the weavings of the Chiriguano and Chané.

C Ce 286 531 [177] Because today the woven goods of these Indians, especially the fajas and the ponchos, are often woven with imported thread or, if they are woven with native wool or cotton thread, these are often dyed with imported dyes, the different colors of the ornamentation on the surface of these weavings have no ethnological importance.

The ornamentation is formed exclusively by the warp threads, due to the fact that the distance between the warp threads is much less than the distance between the wax threads, so that the meshes of the woof disappear completely under those of the warp. Because, outside of that, the formation of the divisions of the warp threads is done by a single mechanism of loops, it can consist only of raising and lowering alternately the even and odd warp threads, for which reason the ornamentation still cannot be influenced by the process of the operation of weaving itself. The structure of this kind of weaving is necessarily such that in the direction of the woof thread, thus vertical to the direction of the warp threads, a row of the meshes formed by the odd warp threads is alternated each time with a row of the meshes formed by the even warp threads. Thus

Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce 286 415 301 126 /72 cont./

Weavings Made on a Special Loom, from the Collection

I. A. 737. Bag (Izozó). Wool. Hgt. 21 cm. Width 22 cm. (Fig. 116.)
I. A. 738. Band " " Length 1.3 cm. " 3.7 cm. (Fig. 115.)

C Ce 286 17 Because of the contacts that the Chiriguano and the Chané had for a long time with the culture of the ancient Peruvians, it is surprising that the highly developed technique of the latter should not have had more influence on the weaving technique of these Indians. The fact is that the Chiriguano even today make most of their weavings with the typical loom of the Aruaco and with the warp in the form of a ring, which they doubtless received from the Chané. Besides these ordinary looms, the forms of looms that they received directly or indirectly from the technique of the ancient Peruvians are of little importance.

Ce 286 171 The two Izozó weavings mentioned above, and in particular bag I. A. 737, are weavings that are exactly like the weavings produced to this day by the Quichua /Quechua/ and also the typical weavings of the last period of the Inca Empire.

Ce [177] In order to explain the appearance of such weavings among the Chané of the Parapití, we have an interesting observation by Nordenskiöld. The Indians told that author that they had learned that technique of weaving directly from a Quichua woman who had emigrated into their territory (274).

274. Nord. 2, p. 178.

C 286 ● [177] The Chiriguano loom for weaving bands and shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld shows that the Chiriguano also learned to weave in the way of the ancient Peruvians (273) /fn. 273, which appears on p. 173, reads: Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4./. In contrast to the manner of weaving described in the preceding, these weavings are made in such a way that the thread of the woof passes alternately through the threads of the front side of the warp and those of the back side. In addition to this, a double mechanism for the divisions of the warp threads makes possible many more variations in the ornamentation.

/75 cont./

286 Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and
415 without the Use of Knots

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[126] I.A. 555-566. Net for carrying loads (Chirig.). Lgth. 0.93 m. 1.80 m.
I.A. 567. " " " " " " 1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
I.A. 568. " " " " " " 1.20 m. (Fig. 144.)

286 From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying
284 burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting
415 the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144
482 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Toba, Chorote /Choroti/, and Churupí /Chulupi/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izozó are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can there-
286 fore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the
284 technique of making nets without applying knots, although this
114 opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that
177 all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

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278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/75 cont./

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Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano)
Length 0.70 cm.

I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozó)
Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozó and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozó and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

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/76/

Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles.

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I mentioned that a large Izozó tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chirig[illegible]hareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges [illegible]guano and Izozó ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

C
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Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozó cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

/76 cont./

C Cc

The Working of Skins and Leather Tanning

281 The Chiriguano and Chané know the art of tanning leather,
[824] and they use for that the bark of the "Piptadenia" and other
[177] trees. No doubt they obtained the knowledge of this craft from
the whites. They use not only tanned leather, but also strips
of animal skin for the making of sundry objects (279), but the
C craft of working leather and skins is not an important one. It
224 is said that formerly the Chiriguano, when they went hunting,
292 wore leather clothing conforming to the European style (280).
177

C
281 Beyond that, leather is not used for making clothing, except
294 to make sandals (281). The men's modern custom of wearing
a leather belt must be attributed to the influence of the whites.
C Without counting its application to the making of bridles and
281 saddles for horses and asses, either draft or saddle animals, on
[492] which we have no data, strips cut from leather or from animal
skins are used in the form of straps, principally to transport or
hanging up some object. In place of the common vegetable-fiber cords, leather straps are often put on the nets for carrying
burdens, on hammocks, and also on the hoops mentioned above,
in which they keep things. The band of the Chiriguano net for
Cc carrying burdens I.A. 564 consists of an untanned cowhide strap.
[281] See Figure 134 /see p. 209/. The Izozó vessel I.A. 617 has a
leather strap attached to its handles. The strings of the bows
for shooting arrows are strips of animal skin, and the Chiriguano
net I.A. 573 is made of cowhide strips.

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279. Nord. 2, p. 165.

280. Nord. 1, p. 184. Nord. 2, pp. 60, and 61. Viedma, op. cit., p. 181. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

C 291 177 281. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23.

C
Ce /78 cont./ concerning means of
482 transport by land we do not have any evidence except through
489 the sundry implements which serve for carrying burdens. We
492 can assume from the form of the double bags mentioned in the
chapter on weaving that they use their horses and burros to
transport loads.

C The objects used to transport burdens have already been
Ce mentioned in preceding chapters. Among them the most gen-
286 eral is the carrying net, which often has a band. By means of
415 it burdens are carried on long trips or the fruits of the harvest
482 are brought in from the fields to the houses, or water is brought,
[484] often from a distance, to the dwellings. The carrying net is
used in such a way that the band goes across the forehead of the
bearer so that the weight of the burden rests on his back (292).

292. See Nord. 2, p. 95.

Nordenskiöld has published a photograph of a woman who is carrying a load in her net (293).

293. Nord. 1, Fig. 87.

C
Ce Baskets are not used by the Chiriguano and Chané for carry-
415 ing loads; they are used among these Indians only to store things.
482 Neither is any special band used to carry infants; rather they
[854] are carried in a fold of the tipoy.

Only if water is near the house are water jugs sometimes
carried on the shoulder without a net, but not on top of the head.
C This latter appears only in the cases where the Indians are
Ce
[177] directly influenced by the whites, as happens in the missions (294).

294. Nord. 2, p. 95.

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[484] For carrying small amounts of water when traveling, these
Indians also use calabashes enlaced with string, or small baked
clay vessels /79/ provided with a string or a leather strap, such
as, for example, the vessel I. A. 617 shown in Figure 56b.

Chane SF8

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
171 have been flutes and that they might have been used only exceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
C balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
[114] Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
C clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
● [177] I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth.
C Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows
Ce such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

C [113] 301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst ünd Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

534 177 171 302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

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/80 cont./
These pots are undoubtedly imitations /Plates XXXVIII-XXXIX appear here/ /81/ of ancient Peruvian models or of modern products. Outside of that there are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld two dolls in the form of a man and a woman, made of wax, which served as toys for the children of the Chané of the Parapití River (308). Purely decorative plastic sculpture is

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mainly shown by most of the baked clay vessels intended for cooking foods, in the form of "ornamento hundido" /sunken decoration/, which is generally placed on the surface of the neck of these vessels, but it may also extend over the entire surface. Cf. Figure 48 /see p. 116/. In addition to the sunken decoration on the neck the vessel I. A. 414, shown in Figure 44, is decorated with a row of small pointed additions around the wall of the vessel. Linné shows in a drawing a piece of a Chané baked clay vessel, the surface of which is decorated with a border of baked clay placed in a zigzag around the wall of the vessel. Many of the vessels with smooth surfaces also have small additions and generally in pairs. They often have these instead of handles. In addition the baked clay dishes for eating and the dishes for frying /fritar/ maize are often provided with such additions. The handles of the baked clay vessels are not in the form of figures, but they can be plastically decorated in such a way that a groove divides them into two parts, which can be twisted around each other. Cf. Figures 46 and 49 /see p. 116/.

Some wooden utensils also have primitive plastic ornamentation, such as the spatulas for stirring food and drink, the wooden dishes for eating, and the large dishes or platters on which food is kept. The handles of some of the spatulas for stirring food are carved in such a way that their edges form zigzag lines (cf. fig. I. A. 579 /not illustrated; see Pl. VIII, p. 20/) and the dishes often have additions such as some baked clay dishes also show. Cf. Figures 18 a and b and 19 /see pl. VIII, p. 50/.

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Drawings are also found on the surface of Chiriguano and Chané objects, in the form of paintings on the surface of baked

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 214]

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308. Nord. 1, Fig. 105.

/85 cont./

C 631 643 [622] According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. C [177] It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. C CE 643 631 Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipendi valley were governed by a great cacique named Taruiri. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Machareti, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. CE 643 [562] We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Itiyuru was a woman named Vuáyruyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vocapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vocapoy (326). Among the Chané on the Itiyuru, and formerly among the Chané of the Parapití when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Itiyuru, according to which, after the great cacique Hinu Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hinu Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyruyi, was great cacique, while the son

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326. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

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/89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

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Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

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Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the criginal, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce
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With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel.

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[685]

In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square to fight each other.

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Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

/90 cont./

000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796
[126]

Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I. A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I. A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
177 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along
with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are
shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.